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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE NE PLUS ULTRA OF FANATICISM.

From The (Washington) States.

In our issue of Monday we published a petition, which is industriously and extensively circulated in Massachusetts, to the Senate and House of Representatives of that Commonwealth, praying for the removal from the State-House grounds of the statue of Daniel Webster. This statue was placed there only a few weeks since, and is represented by competent judges to be one of the finest specimens of modern art—an ornament and an honor, in view of its world-renowned original, to the capital in which it stands.

Its removal is desired, as the petition alleges, because Mr. Webster's last years were spent in defending the Fugitive Slave bill, and whose last counsel to the Commonwealth was to conquer her prejudices against slave-hunting and bondage "with alacrity"!

Where is fanaticism to find a stopping-place in Massachusetts, if it can proceed with impunity beyond this disgraceful demonstration? It might with just as much propriety petition for the demolition of the Bunker's Hill monument as for the removal of the statue of Mr. Webster, for the reasons assigned; or even for the demolition of the incomplete Washington monument in this metropolis.

How far this wild spirit of abolition has taken possession of the citizens of Massachusetts, we have no means, at present, of ascertaining. We shall not be surprised, however—from the antecedents of the citizens of that State, such as sending Sumner and Wilson to the Senate, and an entire delegation of Sewardites to the House, together with the elevation of Banks to the Gubernatorial chair—if it shall be found sufficiently potent to accomplish its disgraceful purpose.

Such movements are distressful auguries as concerns the future of the Union. They indicate, in a manner not to be misunderstood by the most ordinary observer, that there is no abiding militant sentiment of patriotism in the communities in which they are either countenanced or sustained. They are in direct antagonism to the Constitution and the laws of the land, and are *exploited* by the advance guard of Sewardism.

While there are as true men in Massachusetts as there are in Virginia, it is nevertheless certain that this venerable Commonwealth is rotten to the core as concerns devotion to our system of government. But instead of manifesting the slightest penitence for her enormous political sins, she revels in her guilt and seems to employ all her energies in making herself as infamous as it is possible for her to do by the most skilful human contrivances. Her retrogradation to the intolerant fanaticism which marked her early colonial history can certainly not be at a great distance from the goal at which it has been so resolutely aiming.

SOUTHERN SELF-COMPLACENCY.

[The following letter is from *The Century.*]

GRANVILLE COUNTY, N. C., Sept. 24, 1859.

The attitude of opinion at the North in regard to slavery is equivalent to a challenge to free investigation of all the phenomena developed at the present moment in Northern society. Let us accept the challenge thus thrown out.

To an observer, the almost chaotic heterogeneousness of opinion on social and moral subjects in Northern society is a remarkable fact. The elementary principles of dangerous factions seem to be working. Strange agrarian theories couple themselves apparently with wild religious fanaticism, and a skepticism of the most radical kind rears itself up unblushingly, and follows, as if by some strange affinity, directly upon the heels of excitement about the abstract rights of man. This is the way things appear to us.

These things make us tremble for our country. Reflecting as well as we can upon the tendencies of opinions, studious of the volume of past human experience, we firmly believe that our liberties are endangered by these wild, unlicensed theories. You may not easily be able to understand how the position of the South makes us one people, homogenous and conservative. The outward pressure of opinion and discussion for the last twenty or thirty years has, of itself, made us anxious and earnest to know the true relation of slavery to religion and society. We have done what we have been challenged to do. The Southern people are believers, who venerate the Bible and Providence, and they have examined slavery in the light of both profane and sacred history. Seeing themselves socially isolated by the existence of slavery among them, and placed in circumstances of unparalleled delicacy and responsibility, they have quietly looked that responsibility in the face. They were forced to do it in order to justify themselves and the Providence of God which placed them where they are. They have listened as patiently as they could to the world's denunciation and argument, and, casting an eye back to the work of our fathers in the upbuilding of our national Constitution, and forward to the future with hopes brightened by eighty years' experience of national happiness, the Southern people, bowing to the divine wisdom, have assented to the maintenance of that peculiar attitude before the world assigned to them by and through the Constitution. They have been jeered at and threatened; they have been preached to and addressed; they have been the theme of the brilliant novelist's startling caricature, and of the philosophical essayist's profound diatribe. Not one scheme or principle alone has been arrayed against them, but a very chaos of opinions, plans and principles has been stirred up around them. Indeed, they feel that they owe much to the mutual contradictions of their opponents, as well as to their practical weakness. The South has felt eminently secure from the moment the challenge was given, whether by England or the North, to compare what is called free society with society wherein domestic slavery exists. The balance of happiness we feel confident is not against us.

We think we have seen the right of property in men so clearly recognized and plainly regulated in the Bible that our opponents have felt obliged, first to abandon the letter, and then to scout the inspiration of that holy book. The only conservative Christianity flows from the literal interpretation of the Bible; and we don't wonder, therefore, at seeing every form of radical religionism amongst our revilers.

If cheerfulness, if joyousness in song and dance with a joy unknown to our Northern laborer except in childhood, be a sign of grief, and a mark of a curse, then are our slaves cursed above all classes of human beings. I would not wound the sensitive, refined jealousy of my countrymen. Freedom never had a safer home than under the roof which shelters the Northern farmer. No purer fire ever burned upon her altar than was kindled by such men as Putnam and Stark. Let the armor of liberty which hangs in those halls be always bright, and the edge of its weapon be always keen. Still, I am compelled to say it, there is a freer, heartier joy amongst us, more mirthful dances, more music, and less care on the whole.

To the laborers, the farmers and mechanics of the North, I must beg to speak in sobriety and truth. I am no politician, and should scorn my own words did they seem to smack of either the sleek grace or vile gracelessness of the demagogue. Having no present or prospective interest in slavery, I envy the slaveholder as little as I do the laborer who cultivates his own acres. Let me say, then, what I know of your condition, as a child can know its own parents' roof, or the student the discipline of his early years. It is indeed so; the dutiful care and noble ambition which characterize and exalt your condition tax both mind and body to an extent that the children of domestic servitude know nothing of. Your Sundays find you full often too tired to rightly appreciate the religious ministrations which you have contributed your money to maintain. Among us, the same services are for the slaves without money and without price. Sunday is the universal holiday for the slave, and he is generally found on that day where he hears the Gospel. In the writer's neighborhood, and under his observation, blacks crowd to the same churches with the whites, and the owner of ten or a hundred servants vacates his own church that they may enter it; they tread the carpeted aisles and occupy the cushioned seats the half of each Sunday, and hear, as often as their master, the words of life from the same lips that speak to him, and are baptized with the same baptism that he is baptized with. Literally, this is, of course, *without money and without price.* Again: the expense of pauperism to be defrayed by public taxation is greater at the North by probably a five-fold amount than at the South. But why should I speak of pecuniary considerations, when there is *a more excellent way?* There is an instinct of patriotism which forbids that the great heart of Northern industry should array itself actively and offensively against us. The heart of the whole body of the nation feels that the blood with which our national unity has been cemented would cry unto God from the ground should the schemes of fanatical demagogues even approach consummation.

The South, then, contemplates her position with calmness, and looks forward to her probable destiny with an untroubled eye. She has been forced to sleep upon her arms too long not to have acquired the habit of ready promptness to meet a crisis. We have been schooled into energetic endurance, and thoughtful sagacity. Should a severe crisis come, doubtless the world will know that it is not in vain that we have been pressed into close ranks, and drilled into unity of purpose and steadiness of action. Should a Thermopylæ have to be defended, we doubt not there is many a three hundred ready to do it.

But at present the interests of the South are bound up in the same bundle with those of the North; and, therefore, let me hope to be pardoned a word of expostulation. Why this strange fitfulness, this superficial excitableness so often apparent? At the present moment there is demanded resolute, patient adherence to constitutional forms and old-fashioned ways, at least till we can be sure of something better, but our brethren allow themselves to be hurried into most radical positions by idealists and demagogues. Serene trust in Providence is what we need, and they give us presumptuous reasonings and bleak generalizations. In place of essential steadiness of political deportment, and that conservative permanence without which confidence and prosperity cannot be seen, they seem too often to take pleasure in unsettling everything, and loosening even the tree of our constitutional freedom, as if willing wholly to uproot it. *These things ought not to be.* That his country may ever enjoy the prosperity which flows from quiet unity is the desire of

A PROVINCIALIST.

Selections.

FROM ARKANSAS AND THE CHEROKEE COUNTRY.

Correspondence of The Boston Journal.

For a new and sparsely settled region, slaves are quite numerous in this vicinity. They are invariably deferential, removing their hats on approaching a white man, and addressing him as "master." The hotel at which I stopped a day or two on my arrival is "manned" altogether by them, and abounds in evidences of their thriftlessness and carelessness. One of the waiters, however, seemed an exception to this rule, and was prompt, quick and intelligent.

"Dick appears to be an unusually good boy," I remarked to the landlord.

"He ought to be," was the reply; "my partner paid $1,400 for that nigger. He wouldn't have brought more in New Orleans; but he was raised in the family and is an excellent cook. He's a smart, good waiter; but still he's bad."

"How so?"

"Well, he's just like all niggers. If a guest offers him money, he *will* take it, and will be attentive to him, no matter how much others are neglected. That's always the way; many of these people who travel don't care for a dollar or two, and that amount will buy a nigger's affections. I try to prevent my waiters from receiving money at all; but they will do it."

After impressing me sufficiently with the enormity of this offence, mine host discoursed of the slaves in general. Through this region, especially in the winter, they had a mighty easy time—much easier than their masters. They had plenty of spending money, and went to a great many frolics. At the South they had to work much harder.

"I overseed for two years on a cotton plantation in Louisiana, and it's mighty pleasant business too. There the niggers have to work right on through the winter, for that's the picking season. They go to work at daylight and keep at it till dark: an overseer follows them right up with a big whip, and you'd think at first that they had a powerful hard time of it. But, no matter how tight they are worked, just let them get together at night with a fiddle, and Lord, how they *will* frolic! Keep it up all night, too, dancing and singing as if they would never tire of it. That's the place for niggers, anyhow; put them in the South and they are happy.

"The man I overseed for was a mighty good master—kind, but still right strict. He kept them well clothed and provided for, for about half of them are too careless to look out for the future at all. Growing cotton is the most profitable business in the world; the planters don't raise anything else, except a few sweet potatoes, but buy all their other provisions. Picking the cotton is the great thing. A woman will often pick faster than a man, but a child twelve years old will frequently beat them both. It can't be learned; it's a kind of sleight. Those planters think nothing of paying $2,500, or even more, for a good picker."

"Are there many slaves among the Choctaw and Cherokee Indians here?"

"Yes, sir. John Ross, Governor of the Cherokees, has over a hundred, and there's right smart o' slaves through the whole nation."

"How are they treated?"

"Badly; the Indians don't govern them; in fact, the niggers are masters, and do about as they please."

All the testimony I have heard here in regard to the Indians and their slaves corresponds with this. The Indian Territory contains a population of about 135,000, divided between the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks and Chickasaws. They all live under republican forms of government, have courts and educational institutions, and in many instances excellent houses and well-cultivated farms. Their hybrid civilization is a subject of great interest, as bearing upon the question whether the Indian can, under the most favorable circumstances, become anything but an Indian. I shall endeavor to spend time enough among them, while in this vicinity, to learn something of their social life and real condition.

There is some rude medical knowledge among them, which they have not received from the whites. They use a large horn for cupping operations, exhausting the air from it with the mouth, through a little aperture, and piercing the spot with a sharp, neat lance, ingeniously ground out of glass, until the blood has flown copiously. To remove an inflammation, they produce a counter irritation by pressing a burning brand against some other portion of the body. They are great believers in this principle of a counter irritation, and many of their sick are quite mottled with scars from the application of the firebrand. Some of the "medicine men" are great botanists, and seem to know the virtues of every plant, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop upon the wall.

The laws against taking liquor into the Territory are very strict. For the first offence, not only the liquor, but everything accompanying it—horses, wagon, goods, etc.—are all forfeited to the Government. For the second, horsewhipping and perhaps death would be the penalty. The law is said to be strictly enforced; but the Indians cross the line themselves, and while here drink to their hearts' content. They are much more temperate than their race in general. Fully one-fourth of all persons in the Territory are more or less tinctured with white blood. At present but one newspaper is published among them. It is issued in the Chickasaw nation, and gives little local news. The only stray copy I have seen appeared to have been printed with apple-sauce, upon very bad paper.

This is a fine fruit region; but this season the late spring frosts wholly destroyed the crop. Corn, of which an excess is raised, sells readily at the fort, and to the overland emigration, at 75c. to $1 per bushel. Beef in market commands 5c. a pound. For a long time, while the people exported their pork, they imported their hams from Cincinnati; but they are just beginning to learn that it does not pay. Enough wheat is raised to supply the home demand; flour usually ranges at $2 50 to $3 per hundred. Hides and pecan nuts (which grow in the Territory in great profusion) are the main exports. The whole valley of the Arkansas below here is a cotton-growing region, and there are one or two large fields within ten miles of Fort Smith.

Free schools are unknown in this region. In the private institutions, often conducted by incompetent and unfaithful teachers, the prices of tuition range from $8 to $20 per term of five months. Upon parents in moderate circumstances, who *will* educate their children, this tax is very onerous. The most of the children of the poor, and some of the people of ample means, are permitted to grow up in ignorance.

FORT SMITH, Ark., Sept. 13, 1859.

The colored population of Fort Smith is quite large. The negroes have two churches—one Methodist, the other popularly known as "Hard-Sbell" (Calvinistic) Baptist. The services are said to be largely attended. In the absence of church-going bells the congregations are called together at the hour of worship by the sounding of tin horns. This custom has long been in vogue here with all the churches until they have been able to procure bells. To my unaccustomed ear the sound of a fish-horn is a strange and ludicrous substitute for that melody with which, on the return of each Sabbath morning, every New England hamlet is vocal. More than 50 of the negroes in Fort Smith are free. The greater part of them are industrious and frugal, and some have acquired considerable property. In a few instances they were emancipated, but they have generally purchased their own freedom.

One woman, employed as a laundress and nurse, while paying her master $10 per month for her time, earned and saved so much that in five years she paid $1 000 for herself, and was made free. She then in a short period accumulated enough to pay $500 for her husband (who was aged and poor in health), and so purchased his freedom also. Since that time they have been living in this vicinity, "doing well, pecuniarily," though they do belong to the poor creatures who "cannot take care of themselves."

But the pernicious influence of freedom is no longer to exist where, through any possibility, it can be felt by the slaves of Arkansas. The Legislature at its last session passed a very stringent law for the expulsion of free negroes from the State. It goes into effect on the 1st of January next; and any free person of color remaining here after that time is to be sold as a slave, and his property confiscated to the county.

Up to that time, negroes have the option of leaving the State or choosing a master. In the latter case, the person whom they select must pay half their appraised value to the county, and be then has a final and absolute title to the slave. Many here believe the law will prove unconstitutional; but there is little reason to doubt that the courts, high and low, will sustain it.

I have already written something of slavery among the Cherokee Indians. There it seems to lose much of its tragic character, and assume the form of a rather broad joke. The testimony is universal that the negroes are "smarter" than the Indians, and in general do just about as they like. Many of them own large numbers of cattle and ponies, though when taking them this side of the line for sale they usually speak of them as their masters' property. The negroes all speak English, and, as their masters in many instances do not, they make the purchases for the family and transact other business. Considerable money and responsibility are thus committed to them, and, as might be expected, they are not always strictly conscientious in regard to the trust. They enjoy the reputation of making very free with the money and property of their masters.

A friend who has just returned from a trip through the "Nation" states that in many instances the slaves wear arms habitually; and that, with a few exceptions, this general absence of discipline prevails.

John Ross, the President or head chief of the Cherokees, lives at Talequah, the capital of the nation, fifty miles from this place. He has been reelected to his present position every four years since 1828; but is very unpopular with a portion of his people, and has more than once been compelled to keep a guard about his house to protect his life. He has amassed a very large property, has a fine farm, lives luxuriously, and owns upward of a hundred negroes. His enemies declare that his property has been gained by tampering with government funds intrusted to him for the nation. He is nearly white; his wife (a lady from Philadelphia) has no Indian blood in her veins; and his daughters are described as intelligent and extremely educated.

Mr. Ross is said to be secretly in favor of a Territorial organization for the Cherokee country, thus throwing it open to white settlement. He dares not advocate it openly, however, for he could only do so at the peril of his life. A portion of the tribe oppose it with great bitterness, on the ground that if the whites are permitted to come in, the rights of the Indians would be gone forever.

WHITE SLAVERY IN ALABAMA.

From The National Era.

It is not more than four or five years ago since the slavery propagandists of Virginia broached the idea that slavery is the natural and proper condition of the laboring classes, whether white or black, and that it was simply a question of time when this theory was to be reduced to practice.

The Richmond *Enquirer*, the organ of Gov. Wise, and the Richmond *Examiner*, the organ of Senator Hunter, were both warmly engaged in agitating the new dogma of white slavery. Our readers will remember that we made numerous quotations from these journals, and from a work by Mr. Fitzhugh, of Virginia, which advocated them. For some reason, the discussion of the subject has been dropped for the present, but the bread cast upon the waters has after many days been returned to them. The seed sown at random has found congenial soil in the South-West, and has begun to sprout forth.

We some months ago recorded the case of a white girl from Arkansas who was sold into slavery in Louisiana; and we now have two cases of "poor whites" in Georgia being sold into Alabama slavery. How many of the hundred thousand illiterate poor whites of Virginia have been thus disposed of in the Southern markets, we are unable to say, but doubtless a good many.

We clip the following account from the Mobile *Mercury*, which is taken from a country paper, the name of which is not given, but which is printed in the county where the white girl and her brother were held in slavery.

It will be remarked that the onus of proof of freedom is thrown by the laws of Alabama, or by the practice of her courts, upon her poor whites. In the case before the court, witnesses happened to be at hand who could prove the freedom of the poor girl; but if she had been kidnapped in Virginia or North Carolina, instead of a neighboring county in Georgia, her doom as a slave for life would have been sealed forever! How many such poor whites there are now writhing under the lash of the slave-driver, God only knows. It is fortunate that these victims have the sympathies of the community; but even this degree of resistance to slavery may yet be subdued, when the "sociology" of Fitzhugh and the *Enquirer* come to be thoroughly appreciated.

The article referred to is as follows:

"A WHITE GIRL LIBERATED FROM SLAVERY.—Patience Hicks, a young woman about 17 years of age (says the Abbeville *Banner*), who was held as a slave by John Guilford, a citizen of this county, under a bill of sale made to him by one James C. Wilson, was brought before Judge Williams under a writ of *habeas corpus*, sued out by Mrs. Cassey Ann Hicks, the mother of said girl, who arrived in the town of Abbeville on Tuesday, the 9th inst. On the trial of the case, it was proved that Wilson went to the house of Mrs. Hicks, in Columbus, Ga., about the first of last March, where he remained sick for several weeks. On his recovery, he desired to marry the young lady; and finding that her mother was opposed to the marriage, he stole her away, and brought her to the house of Rev. John Guilford, to whom he sold her for a slave. On his return to Columbus, he procured her brother, a boy about 15 years old, and sold him to a gentleman in Georgia. The girl has worked on a plantation, and is considerably sunburnt, which makes her appear rather dark. But we think that we have seen a great many people who are recognized as white persons who are of a darker complexion than this girl, even in her present condition. The mother, brother and sister of the girl are all destitute of means, but the humanity and benevolence of our citizens have contributed liberally to the poor, unfortunate people. Below we give the judgment of the court:

"PATIENCE L. *and* CASSEY ANN HICKS, *versus* JOHN GUILFORD, *Contestant.*

"Under writ of Habeas Corpus.

"PROBATE COURT, August 11, 1859.

"In this case, Cassey Ann Hicks sued out a writ of *habeas corpus* for the daughter of Patience L. Hicks, and Cassey Ann Hicks, the infant daughter of said Patience L., who were held in slavery by John Guilford, of Henry County, said State of Alabama, on the grounds that said Patience L. Hicks, and her daughter, Cassey Ann Hicks, are not slaves, but free white persons, which, being controverted by said John Guilford, the trial came up before me at Abbeville, in said county, on the 11th of August, 1859. The defendant's (Guilford) counsel moved to dismiss the petition and writ of *habeas corpus* for want of jurisdiction, and referred to the case of Field *vs.* Milly Walker, *et al.*, 17th Ala., page 80. The court overruled said motion, on the ground that said petition and said writ of *habeas corpus* claimed the said Patience L. and Cassey Ann Hicks as free white persons, and not as free negroes, as in the case referred to. The court then proceeded to hear the testimony in said case, when four witnesses took the stand, and proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the said Patience L. and her daughter, Cassey Ann, are free white persons. Three of the witnesses knew the said Patience L. from her birth, against whose evidence nothing has been urged. Besides, the fact of the freedom of the said Patience L. and her daughter, Cassey Ann, must have come to the knowledge of the said John Guilford within a short time after he claims to have purchased them from Wilson; and, after a full hearing of the evidence on both sides, it is ordered, adjudged, and decreed, that said Patience L. Hicks, and her daughter, Cassey Ann Hicks, be, and they are hereby, discharged from the service of said John Guilford, and be restored to her mother, the said Cassey Ann Hicks, and that the said John Guilford pay all costs in this case, for which execution may issue.

"G. W. WILLIAMS, *Judge of Probate.*

"The counsel for Guilford have taken the case to the Supreme Court, not with the expectation of again enslaving the girl, but with the expectation of clearing Guilford of the cost."

MALUM IN SE.

From The Free Church Portfolio.

Since the revival of the African slave trade has forced upon the public attention the subject of American slavery, editors of so-called religious newspapers, and Doctors of slaveholding divinity, with a view of shielding the great parent iniquity which has its stronghold in the Churches, are bandying about the legal phrase which stands at the head of this article. Blackstone, in his Commentaries on the laws of England, defines *malum in se* to be a breach of the "Superior Law," by which he means the Law of God, and which he recognizes as paramount in authority. Murder is *malum in se.* So are thefts and perjury. The term is distinguished from *malum prohibitum*, which defines an act pronounced to be wrong only because its commission is forbidden by the supreme legislative power in the State. If a man were to put into the Croton reservoir fifty barrels of prussic acid, with a view of poisoning the inhabitants of New York, the act in its intention and consequences, would be *malum in se*, an intrinsic, essential sin, inexcusable and unjustifiable. But if a citizen of Pennsylvania, within the limits of the State, passes a bank bill of a lower denomination than five dollars—or if he shoot wood-cock between the first day of February and the fourth of July—that is only *malum prohibitum.* The sinfulness that attaches to these acts is simply that of violating a statute. There is no inherent evil in them, as there is in murder, theft or perjury. There is another class of "sins" that are not stamped with the atrocity of *malum in se*, such as chewing tobacco, drinking unduly of intoxicating liquor, taking an apple from an neighbor's orchard, &c., &c. Such acts are sins *consequentially.* They work ultimate sin. There can be no inherent sin in a young lady keeping time to music in a parlor dance. But when she goes to the public and promiscuous ball at unsuitable hours, and under improper circumstances, and there, by exposure, endangers her health or her virtue, that approximates the nature of a positive, downright sin. It is hard to define the boundary of this class of transgressions, and point out the place where they get into the category of *mala in se.* But it is very plain that such a boundary exists. Reason and conscience, when candidly brought to bear on the prohibitions and requirements of the moral law, will generally avail in solving all questions of duty.

Now, as a Christian, we take the ground that slaveholding is *malum in se*—a sin in itself considered. By a slaveholder we mean one who, availing himself of an iniquitous state of society, and of laws corresponding thereto, claims and holds property in man, as he does in a brute or an inanimate thing. The claim and justification of this right we deem an infinitely greater sin than the mere *practice* of slaveholding, just as the defender of horse-stealing on *principle* is a more dangerous criminal than the horse-thief himself. One man may sustain to another the *legal* relation of slaveholder, while at the same time he is guilty of no sin and is no slaveholder in fact. When Dr. Brisbane went to South Carolina and bought up the slaves which he afterwards emancipated in Ohio, he was, for the time being, in the eyes of the law a *legal* holder of slaves. Had he died before the act of emancipation, his slaves would have been counted with the rest of his property, and put up for sale to the highest bidder, or divided among his heirs at law. But in the sight of God, he was not only an innocent man, but doing a praiseworthy act, when, from the purest and most benevolent motives, he assumed the relation of slaveholder. So there are, no doubt, many Southern men who are complicated and mixed up with slavery, in a *legal* way, but who in heart, and as far as their free agency will allow, disavow all claim to their "slaves" and are innocent. If the reader doubts whether slaveholding, in the sense we have given of it, is *malum in se*, a sin in itself, let us remind him of two features in its character:

1. It is a high-handed insult and gross disobedience to the Creator. God made man and made him in his own image. He assigned him the place he occupies in the scale of being, and endowed him with reason, conscience and immortality, thus constituting him a free accountable agent, and demanding from him, as such, the homage of his heart and intellect, and the service of his hands. But the slaveholder, with a cormorant greed of ease and gain, repudiates the authority of God, and drags man down from his place, and herds him with the brutes that perish. He stands between the slave and his Maker; forbids what God commands, and commands what God forbids, and thus usurps the prerogatives of the Most High. God commands the slave father, as a man, to cherish his wife, and train up his children aright. But the slaveholder tramples down the divine institution of marriage, separates the husband and wife, whom God hath joined together, and sells the children for money. God enjoins upon all men to "search the Scriptures" as the great fountain of eternal life. But the slaveholder, with his twin brother, the Catholic Priest (*par nobile fratrum!*), forbids by law the exercise of this inalienable right, and the performance of this universal duty, and shrouds the immortal soul of the slave in the gloom of ignorance. He enacts a law, as in Virginia, and consigns to the penitentiary, as a felon, the faithful missionary who teaches the slave to read his Bible, and thus to obey and reverence the God who made him! Is this all no sin? Yea, verily, and a sin of mighty magnitude—a sin that aims to dethrone the Almighty himself.

2. It is the deepest injury one man can inflict upon another. God gave to man, as man, a warrant of authority to exercise dominion over all the creatures of the earth, in the air and in the sea, saying—"the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon" them all. But the slaveholder exercises absolute dominion over man himself. He tramples down his brother's inalienable rights in the dust, and then turns round with Satanic impudence and justifies the wrong. He even goes so far as to take advantage of the slave's ignorance and weakness, and dares to quote the authority of God for the act. Why, the very beasts of the field fear God more, and understand theology better, than the Hunker Doctors of Divinity; for the African lion, recognizing the Divine commission given him in Genesis 1: 26, and 9: 2, will slink away into the jungle from the presence of a black Hottentot. The horse and the ox on the earth, the eagle and the vulture in the air, and the mighty whale in the ocean, all flee before the God-like look of the enslaved man, just as they do from the face of his oppressor. Their conduct honors God more than the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case, for they admit that the black man *has* rights which they feel bound to respect as much as they do those of his oppressor. The slaveholder, then, is a robber, not of gold—that is, comparatively, a bauble—but of the sacred rights with which the Eternal God has invested man. To prove, now, that all enlightened consciences feel this judgment we have given to be correct, is there a slaveholder on earth that would be willing, under any circumstances, and for any purpose, to take the legal position of the slave? Is there a living father or mother who would not infinitely rather see a son or a daughter put to death, in any form, than to be reduced to the condition of a slave? Not one. This, then, is the verdict of humanity in the case, that wilful, intentional slaveholding, such as it is defined to be by the slave laws, and the practice under those laws, is *malum in se*—the most daring insult a man can offer to his God, and the highest crime one man can commit upon another. The General Assembly of 1818 was right, therefore, when they declared that sin to be a clear violation of the law of God in every precept, and totally inconsistent with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The fathers of the Presbyterian Church were right, and had God, Conscience and the Bible on their side, when they quoted the definition of Grotius, and embodied it in their Confession of Faith, that slaveholding was *man-stealing.* And yet, when thousand of human beings, for whom Jesus Christ agonized and died on the cross, and for whom He is now interceding in Heaven, are put upon the auction-block and sold as property, liable to all the incidents and concomitants of property, Dr. Hodge, of the Princeton *Repertory*, tries to cover over the iniquity of the act, by a course of special pleading, disgraceful to a county court lawyer, and says that it is only the man's *services* that are sold, and not the *man himself!* When the law itself declares that *slaves*, not their *services*, "shall be deemed and taken as *chattels personal* in the *hands* of the *owners*," a professed minister of Jesus Christ will throw dust into the eyes of his brethren, and make them believe that such a crime against God and man as the slaveholder commits is no sin.

We have said before, and now repeat it, that he who defends and justifies the slaveholding relation is a far greater criminal than the slaveholder himself, because he justifies the wrong on *principle* or in the *abstract.* Therefore it is that such a man as Dr. Adams, who lives in a country uncontaminated with the evil, is a greater and a meaner sinner that the vulgar and brutal Legrees of the South, who trade in the bodies and souls of men. Legree drives his accursed business, separating husbands and wives, parents and children, but he does it because it is customary, and to make his livelihood. Dr. Adams, with no temptation to lend himself to the infamous service, volunteers in the cause of the Devil out of pure love, and sanctions and sanctifies Legree's crimes. Should Legree, amidst the wailings of separated families, feel any remorse of conscience, the sanctimonious Doctor is at his side with an opiate to quell the rising emotions of shame and guilt, by a "thus saith the Lord." Infinitely rather would we go up to the Judgment-Seat of the Living God, standing in the blood-stained shoes of Legree, than appear before that tribunal in the golden slippers of the Boston Doctor. If we are not a downright fool, incapable of knowing right from wrong, then he who, with no temptation to do wrong, volunteers his justification of a great system of iniquity, will sink deeper under the wrath of God than a poor, ignorant, tempted, grovelling wretch, like Legree.

We have received lately a letter from a distinguished clergyman in the East, who has taken an active part in the organization of the "Church Anti-Slavery Society." He informs us that many of the New England ministers refuse to come upon the platform of this Society because its cardinal doctrine is that slavery is *malum in se.* These gentlemen for twenty years past have opposed this doctrine, and to maintain it now would be to acknowledge that during all this time they were wrong. We have no very exalted opinion of the common run of New England ministers. They are a very ordinary set of men, turned out at the theological seminary, as a machine-shop "turns out" work, to the order of the Church. They are all made on the same pattern, with the brand "Andover," "East Windsor," and "New Haven," to give them credit and currency in the community. It is amusing to read their hair-splitting attempts to show that slavery is not *malum in se*, but only a venial sin. From the wonderful obfuscation of their minds on a very plain subject, we are tempted to suspect that they have daughters, sons, nephews or nieces in the South, teaching school among the slaveholders, and that they are engaged in a struggle between their consciences and family interests. Now, no Church or other association will ever make headway against the system of slavery unless they lay down, as the foundation of all their efforts, the doctrine that slaveholding is *malum in se.*

What is the reason that the habit of using tobacco has become so universal? The American Tract Society has published tracts against the "*sinfulness*" of this practice. And yet, at the last anniversary meeting of the Society, the venerable Dr. Spring, of New York, during the very exercises of the meeting, took out his tobacco-box and offered it to another gentleman, thus tempting him to commit a "sin" which he practised, and against which the Tract Society has testified in thousands of pages of its publications! The Society has also published tracts against the "sinfulness" of dancing. Yet the daughters of the Directors dance. They have also, in their great zeal for religion, published against the sinfulness of going asleep in meeting. Yet on any Sabbath day, in New York and elsewhere, the life members may be seen in meeting *nodding assent* to the unheard propositions of their preachers, and thus committing a "sin." Now, the reason that slavery bids defiance to Heaven and earth—the reason that it has demanded the revival of the slave trade—is that the Churches and their ministers have not treated it as *malum in se*—an inherent sin. They recognise as consistent Christians, and worthy of fellowship and communion, those who practise this "sin," just as they fellowship the man who commits the "sin" of using tobacco, dancing to music, and going to sleep in meeting. Thus the Church is hamstrung in its attempt to do away slavery, because it does not know where to give it a mortal wound. You may denounce, and villify, and scold, and abuse the slaveholder to your heart's content, as Dr. Bacon does in *The Independent*, but as long as you receive him at the communion-table and there endorse his *Christian* character, as Dr. Bacon does, proclaiming that his slaveholding is a peccadillo, or at most a *venial* sin, he will hold on to his slaves. You may use the greatest severity of language against a transgressor; but if you connive at his sin, and thus acknowledge his claim as a good Christian, his transgression is bleached into a virtue, or at least into mere weakness which is to be tolerated. The *malum in se* doctrine is the spear of Ithuriel with which the Church could inflict a deadly wound upon the monster slavery, if she would. And because she does not, she must be set down as the bulwark of the system. Why is it that the Free Presbyterian Church is so honored by the hate of the slaveholders, and the opposition of the bunkers? Because we are in *earnest* when we declare, in the language of the fathers, that slavery is a *sin.* We believe that our Southern brethren are guilty of a double crime, which, if they repent not of and forsake it, will sink them into perdition. We believe that if we love them, we will show it by *rebuking* their sin and not by *countenancing* them into it. Feeling responsible in the matter, we overlook popularity, and ease, and interest, so as to meet our brethren in the Last Great Day with clear consciences. And to prove our sincerity, we refuse utterly and entirely to hold Christian communion with them.

It is *not* necessary that we should build up a large denomination, or succeed in abolishing the system against which we war; but it *is* necessary that we wash our hands from the stain of our brother's blood!

We are happy to see that while Dr. Bacon, of the *New York Independent*, objects to the doctrine of *malum in se*, in its application to slavery, Dr. Cheever, with a clearer head and an honester heart, advocates it in the columns of that paper. Dr. Cheever, however, loses half his power by the false position he occupies as a Churchman. He is a Congregationalist. So are Dr. Adams and Dr. Blagden, and many others of the same stamp. It is the vice of his system, and not the vice of the man, that is to blame for this involuntary fellowship with the defenders and promoters of slavery. Real Congregationalism in the Church is as practical an impossibility as real Democracy in the State. If Dr. Cheever could leave the ecclesiastical fellowship of Dr. South-side Adams without leaving Congregationalism, he would do it. But he is enslaved by his organization, and forced into a position which he never defends, although he is provoked to do so by the galling fire of such sharp-shooters as Parker Pillsbury and Stephen S. Foster. It is the great fault we find with the Congregational system of Church government. It cannot be marshalled into battle array. You must be constantly taking the census to ascertain the state of opinion of the sect. Each congregation has terms of communion for itself, some anti slavery and some pro-slavery, and yet all are bound together in associations and consociations, forming what the lawyers call "hotch-pot." If Dr. Cheever and his brethren would organize a Presbytery in connection with the Free Presbyterian Church, there would be no need to ask a second time—"Where does Dr. Cheever stand?"

REPUBLICANISM IN VIRGINIA.

The slave-breeders of Virginia appear to be exceedingly exercised on account of the discovery that a full-fledged Republican, Mr. Caldwell, has been elected to represent the Wheeling District in the Senate of the Old Dominion; and the First Families, who include all the slave-breeders, beside some others who wish to be, but lack the requisite capital, are putting their heads together to decide what they will do with so rare a bird. Various suggestions have been made from various quarters, but, so far as we judge by the outgivings of the organs of public opinion in Virginia, no decision has as yet been reached as to the proper disposition to be made of this Western innovator, who not only has the audacity to be a Republican and a member of the Republican National Executive Committee, but actually gets himself elected to the Senate. The mildest course of treatment we have seen suggested is, first, to try to bully Mr. Caldwell into resigning his office, and that failing, to expel him from his seat for holding opinions likely to endanger the future growth of the negro crop. In other words, the Senator from Wheeling is suspected of holding to a literal interpretation of Virginia's *sic semper tyrannis*, and of indorsing unqualifiedly that portion of the Bill of Rights of 1776 which declares "that *all* men are by nature equally free and independent." Moreover, he is believed to entertain sympathy with one George Washington, a weak sentimentalist, who, many years ago, before it was discovered that slavery is ordained of God, lived in Virginia, and expressed as among his first wishes a desire "to see slavery abolished by law." Also with one crazy-brained, but well-meaning, man named Jefferson, among whose "glittering generalities" was the absurd idea that all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to liberty, and who, in speaking of our treatment of the African race, said: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." And with Mr. James Madison, a gentleman who occupied a rather prominent position in his day, but was so unsound as to "think it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man." And with Mr. James Monroe, another respectable old gentleman of the ancient Virginia school, but who so widely failed to comprehend the will of God and political economy as to say: "We have found that this evil (slavery) has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed." And Mr. Patrick Henry, a treasonable agitator and "higher-law" fanatic, who, in his day, not only defied the king, but said of slavery (which is greater than the king or the Constitution), "I will not, I cannot justify it. It is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery." And with George Mason, a leading member from Virginia of the Convention which framed the United States Constitution, and who "held it essential, in every point of view, that the General Government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery."

Mr. Caldwell is also charged, and probably not without reason, with holding opinions in common with other and hardly less distinguished Virginia statesmen, whose heresies were given to the world at a later period and in a more enlight

as no words written in America are read. Lord Brougham's testimony on the first of August resounded through America; your Clarkson and your Wilberforce are names of strength to us. I ask you, raise the moral public opinion until its voice reaches the American shores. Aid us thus until the shackles of the American slave melt like dew before the morning sun. I ask for especial help from the women of England. Women are the worst victims of the Slave Power. I am met on every hand by the cry "Cotton!" "Cotton!" I cannot stop to speak of cotton while men and women are being brutalized. But there is an answer for the cotton cry too, and the argument is an unanswerable one. Before concluding I shall give you a few passages from the laws of the slave States. By some of these laws, free colored people may be arrested in the discharge of their lawful business; and, if no papers attesting their freedom be found on them, they are committed to jail; and, if not claimed within a limited time, they may be sold to pay the jail fees. By another law, any person who speaks at the bar, bench, on the stage, or in private, to the slaves, so as to excite insurrection, or brings any paper or pamphlet of such nature into the State, shall be imprisoned for not less than three nor more than twenty-one years; or shall suffer death as the judge decides. I could read such laws for hours, but I shall only add that in Maryland there is at present a gentleman in prison, condemned for ten years, because a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin was found in his possession. The laws are equally severe against teaching a slave to read—against teaching even the name of the good God. In conclusion, Miss Remond made another powerful appeal for sympathy and help.

Rev. F. Bishop moved a resolution expressive of thanks to Miss Remond, for her able and eloquent lecture, and of admiration of her courageous and disinterested labors as an Abolitionist in her own country.

Mr. Nelson seconded the resolution, which was carried with hearty acclamation.

Rev. Dr. Beard, in conclusion, called on the audience to pass a resolution expressive of their abhorrence of this monstrous iniquity, and have them welcome the Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, New York, one of the oldest and most thorough Abolitionists of America (cheers).

Henry Vincent, E-q., warmly seconded the resolution. He counted himself fortunate to attend this meeting. All his sympathies, from the time he first began to think, had been for freedom and with the Abolitionists. They had heard the cause modestly and nobly advocated that evening by a woman. He was delighted with the earnest, patient, affectionate appeal from this American lady. He tendered his full sympathy (applause).

The resolution having been carried,

Rev. S. J. May said: I thank you for the warm welcome you have given me. I accept it, not for myself, as an individual, but as the representative of the American Abolitionists. As noble men and women as live are these Abolitionists, and the greatest of them is William Lloyd Garrison. I am convinced that, after he has passed away from earth, he will ere long be regarded as the first man America has produced in this century. It was my privilege to be in Boston in 1829, when, after returning from his incarceration in Baltimore, on account of his advocacy of the cause of the slave, Mr. Garrison gave his first abolition lecture. I went to the meeting and saw for the first time this noble man, then some twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. Never was my heart so touched, my soul so stirred, as when I heard him describing, as I never heard before or since described, the system of slavery which he had witnessed in the South. I listened with breathless attention, and said to the one next to me, "That young man has the spirit of a prophet; that young man will stir our nation to its foundations." I cannot tell why I said so, but I felt it, and the result has proved all that I anticipated. After the meeting, I went up to Mr. Garrison, and said, "I am not prepared to embrace all you have said; there is much involved in this question; but I am prepared to embrace you." Since then he has been maligned as no other man in the United States. A reward has been offered for his head; he has been called by every evil name; but who can forget that another, a greater reformer and a far higher and holier being than he, the blessed Son of God, was called Beelzebub? Is it any wonder, then, that this humble follower is the footsteps of the Redeemer has been called by opprobrious epithets? I never met a man more gentle, more kind, more thoroughly alive to all the humanities; and yet, if we are to believe the papers, he is the enemy of all mankind, simply because he speaks the truth. Let me say to you we do look back to England, as my countrywoman has told you, for aid in this struggle for humanity. Essentially it is a religious movement, not a political one; a moral and religious movement. As such it claims the sympathy of all civilized people, but especially it claims English sympathy and help. The religious denominations are, as you have heard, for the most part against us. Never shall I forget the first day I spoke with Mr. Garrison, the day after the meeting I have referred to, when he read to me letters he had prepared to the leading men in the different sects, telling them what he had seen in the South, and calling on them to aid the cause of abolition. Dr. Barnes, of Philadelphia, whose name is known to many of you as a learned commentator, has said that no power out of the American Church could sustain slavery, if it were not sustained in it. Do you wonder then that Garrison has spoken against American Christianity? He had reason; but he has never spoken against the religion of the Redeemer. When he began his work, he was a member of a church.* Do you wonder that, when he was refused every church in Boston to lecture in—when, year after year, he made ineffectual appeals to the different sects to move in this matter, of such vital importance to the morals and religion of the country—do you wonder that he lost faith in such churches? About the year 1834 or 1835 the sum of five thousand dollars was offered to the American Bible Society if they would employ it to circulate the Bible among the slaves. They refused the offer, and at a later date they published and circulated a document to prove that the Bible sanctions slavery. The Bible sanction a system which violates every one of the commandments and tramples them under its feet! I ask you, who are the enemies of the Bible, the Abolitionists, who would have given it to the slave, or the American Bible Society, who published such a calumny upon the sacred volume? The American Tract Society, consisting of members and ministers of all the orthodox denominations in the country, is in a similar position to the Bible Society. A gentlemen lately offered a prize for a tract on the "Influence of Slavery." It was adjudged to be an excellent essay, but the Tract Society refused to give it circulation. In the 250 millions of publications that have gone out under the auspices of this Society there has not been one word on the subject of slavery. But this is not all. Only last spring, when the slave trade was reopened, it was proposed to send out a tract to oppose the reopening, but the Society refused to do so. Again, you will scarcely believe it when I tell you, but it is nevertheless true, that if that young lady who has addressed you so eloquently this evening were to travel in our Southern States, she would be arrested and most probably sold as a slave. In 1836, when I was the general agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it occurred to me that we were too unmindful of what was going on in the midst of us, and in two days I found twenty-six well attested cases of men who had been thus taken either on board vessels trading with the South or in the pursuit of their lawful business. I would ask you to appeal to your parliament, and protest against the reopening of the African slave trade. Surely your country will not stand by and see the abominable traffic reopened. Ask your government to communicate with our government, for governments are but men; let them refer to former treaties, and let the mischief be put a stop to. I have no doubt our government would listen to such negotiations; it does not sanction the slave trade, but our Constitution is such that slavers have been able to land their cargoes in many parts lately. You will understand me when I explain that we are thirty-two republics united in one. The power of the Union is a limited one; but we have one grand tribunal at Washington, and its decision is final. Besides this, in each State there is a District United States Court, and the cases referred to have been adjudged in these courts. A slaver lands a cargo of slaves from Africa, inquiry is made, a court held in the nearest city of the State—a slave State, mind, with slaveholders for judges, and slaveholders for jury, and the consequence is an acquittal. We have not yet been able to obtain an appeal to the Supreme Court; but if a case were brought before it, I have no doubt we should have a just decision. Mr. May was loudly and warmly cheered throughout his speech.

Rev. S. A. Steinthal proposed that something practical should be done. As members of religious denominations, let them communicate with those of their own name who were implicated in American slavery, and protest against defiling their religious enterprises with any such accomplices in iniquity. They ought to sympathize with those noble men and women who had battled long in the anti-slavery cause, and send them what assistance they could, for it was in America the struggle must take place (cheers).

The meeting was also addressed by J. Shuttleworth, Esq., and J. Ollerenshaw, Esq., on whose suggestion the Mayor's kindness in presiding was gratefully acknowledged.

The meeting was very attentive and enthusiastic throughout, and separated at a late hour. A collection in aid of the American Anti Slavery Society was made at the doors.

* A mistake.—*Ed. Standard.*

Benton once said that Senator Douglas would never be President, "because his coat tails were too near the ground." The "little giant," evidently acting on this hint, has adopted a *round-about* habit.—*Spirit of the Times.*

Slavery Abolished in Java.—A decree has been published, abolishing slavery from the island of Java from Oct. 1. At the last accounts the slaves on the island were about five thousand in number.

An Old Line Whig, in a neat after-dinner speech, remarked that "fugitive slaves should be given up, because we should render unto the seizers the things that are the seizers."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1859.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed "*Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the Anti Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York.*"

THE COMIC ASPECTS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

So we see that troubler of Israel, Mr. John Jay, has been at his unhallowed work again. Not content with having disturbed the peace of the Episcopal Zion, for many consecutive years, in behalf of a quantity of black Churchmen, whose canonical rights he saw fit to maintain with a very unpleasant pertinacity, he has now gone to Africa herself for his grievance, and insisted upon bringing whole shiploads of Guinea negroes between the wind and the nobility of the New York Episcopal Convention. The fetching of these heathens within the reach of the gospel influences of the Southern Aid Society, it seems, Mr. Jay and his accessories regard as "a defiance of the laws of God and of the ancient laws of the Republic," and "a stupendous crime," and therefore as a matter coming within the legitimate range of ecclesiastical consideration and condemnation. And so he moved that the petition be referred to a Committee of Clergymen and Laymen, with instructions to report on the subject to the next Convention. Now, however much these petitioners may have been in error as to the moral character of the commercial enterprise which proposes to import from Africa raw material to be worked up into American Christians, it is hard to see anything either comical or irregular in what they asked. But there must have been, or that Honorable and Reverend Body—the members of which, we believe, pique themselves on being gentlemen as well as Christians—would not have received the petition "with a sound of suppressed laughter and a slight attempt at hissing," nor yet, on the rejection of Mr. Jay's resolution by a decided majority, would the applause have been "kept from breaking forth only by the sacredness of the place," which a dispassionate observer of the transaction from the Reporters' table says was the fact.

We are ourselves entirely unable to see the point of the joke. Probably Mr. Jay and his confederates are equally obtuse. These worthy gentlemen obviously had been witty unawares and made an excellent jest, as the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* spoke prose, without knowing it. Possibly, the absurdity of the proposition might lie in the idea that the scene of this crime, supposing it to be one, lay at so great a distance that its perpetrators were entirely out of the reach of the thunders of the Church of the New York Diocese, and the inconsequence might be so great as justly to shake with irresistible laughter the most solemn of diaphragms. But then the petition stated that this traffic is "now being prosecuted from the port of New York, within the limits and jurisdiction of this diocese." This would seem to raise an issue of fact on which the proposed Committee might report, and, as it is barely possible that some of the parties engaging in this commerce may belong to her communion, it would seem to be a proper occasion for putting forth the warning voice and the restraining discipline of the Church. This explanation of the effect of the petition and the motion accompanying it on the risibles of that grave assembly being thus knocked on the head, the only other theory by which we can logically deduce anything funny from the premises is to suppose that the Convention looked upon the notion of there being anything morally wrong in the slave trade as so inherently ridiculous that they could not keep from laughing at the unexpected approximation of two such utterly dissimilar ideas—which is some metaphysician's definition of wit. Just as if the petition had asked the Convention to censure the African trade in gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, and ebony—we mean, of course, that belonging to the vegetable and not the animal kingdom. And this theory has the advantage over the other of accounting for "the slight attempt at hissing" which accompanied the suppressed laughter. The drollery of the suggestion may have been so complicated with an affront to the understandings of the members as to have demanded this mingled expression of merriment and contempt.

This sardonic laughter may have arisen from indignation at this attempt to interfere with the new plan of Foreign Missions involved in the scheme of our Southern Brethren for the rehabilitation of the slave trade. Or, rather, that happy marriage of Foreign with Domestic Missions which would unite the efficacy of the one with the convenience of the other. The idea may have naturally suggested itself to the Convention that it would be a vast economy of missionary effort if the heathen could be brought to the missionaries instead of sending the missionaries to the heathen. The poetical justice of the thing—if we may be permitted such an expression in treating of so grave a subject—would be such as to satisfy the most scrupulous consciences. Instead of the missionaries risking their lives on sea and land for the sake of making converts among the heathen, how much better to make the heathen incur these perils of the Middle Passage and the acclimation, as part of the price of their salvation! What an improvement on the old plan of the conversion of the world, to have the Gentiles made the Martyrs instead of the Apostles! In this view of the matter, we cannot wonder either at the laughter or the hissing. We are only surprised that the one should have been suppressed, or that the sacredness of the place should have kept the other from breaking out. As faithful journalists we have done our best to point out to our readers wherein the comic element of this application to the Convention lay, which seems to have been so highly relished by its members. If they are not satisfied with our solution, they must hunt one up for themselves. Our own intellect breaks down in the pursuit of any other explanation of it. It is "all a muddle" to us, on any other hypothesis. The Convention having thus perfunctorily disposed of this petition, proceeded to prefer one on their own account to the House of Bishops for the restoration of Dr. Onderdonk to the Episcopal functions, from which he was suspended for immoralities, fourteen years ago, or so. It is no part of our business to comment on this proceeding; and we will only say that if the Church had its laugh over the one petition, the World, on the other hand, has made bold to indulge in some slight jocularity over the other.

To drop irony, however, this treatment of Mr. Jay's petition and motion proves the truth of the assertion on which they were partly founded, as to the powerful nature of the influence exerted in behalf of the slave trade, and the vitiated condition of the moral sense of a part of the community in regard to it. Indeed, it shows a much more diseased condition of moral feeling than we had supposed to exist, inasmuch as Vice, in this form, appears to feel strong enough to refuse the tribute of hypocrisy which she has usually thought it worth while to pay to Virtue. In advance, we should have supposed that the Convention, however indisposed to any action or agitation of the subject, would have referred it to a Committee, were it merely as a means of avoiding action and smothering agitation. That the Church can refuse to take notice of the reëstablishment of this pagan barbarism within the limits of its own fold, when it becomes the prominent thought of the nation, is a thing difficult to imagine. Impossible, indeed, on the hypothesis that it regards the African slave trade, which all Christendom has at length agreed in branding as piracy, as a sin of sufficient magnitude to be rebuked. It will be the American Episcopal Church that will be on trial, at the bar of the civilized and Christian world, until it has made up its record on this subject, in one way or the other. The world will not admit the plea that this is a crime which has been passed upon and settled, and that there is no more need of reiterating its condemnation than of any other notorious and flagrant vice or wickedness. It does still feel called upon to return to its first principles, as the deceitfulness of the human heart takes upon itself new forms of old iniquity. It might have been a sufficient excuse ten years ago; but the tide of wickedness is setting in this direction with such fearful violence as to call upon all men of God to prove their title to the name by doing what they may to stay its course.

We fear very much that the time-serving and procrastinating spirit which is displayed in this proceeding of so influential a body of men as the Diocesan Convention of this State is but a pattern of what we have to expect when this question dominates the political world. That it is to be made the great question of the nation is beyond a doubt. The Slave Trade party at the South is intelligent, resolute and courageous. The opposition at the North, we fear, will be marked by the characteristics of the Convention whose action we have been considering. The majority of the gentlemen, clerical and laic, of that body would undoubtedly resent the imputation of being friendly or indifferent to the rehabilitation of the slave trade. And yet they refuse, with scarcely suppressed laughter and hisses, to take the mildest of measures towards expressing their disapproval of it. Mr. Cobden was very right in attributing to the want of pluck of the Republican party the disadvantage at which they fight the Democrats. The same criticism would apply to religious sects as well as to political parties, and so to the whole North of which they are made up. While the Republicans and Religionists of the North are busy asking pardon of the Democrats and the South that they take the liberty of living, and showing how there is, after all, no real difference between them, the South goes boldly and insolently forward in the path she has marked out for herself. She is determined to have the slave trade virtually reëstablished. She will not demand, probably, an open reëstablishment of it—or, if she do, it will be for the purpose of having a vantage ground from which to retire back on the pleasant plains of compromise—but the repeal of the laws forbidding it under pains and penalties she will exact. If Congress should refuse, she can depend on the Supreme Court to pronounce them unconstitutional, on a case being brought before it. Then it will depend on the several States to take action concerning it. But if one State open its ports to the traffic, it is all that is necessary for the whole South. The rich slaveholders are against it; but they will be overborne. The Northern Democrats pretend to oppose the reöpening of the trade; but so they did the Annexation of Texas. Logic is all on the side of the slave-traders. If slavery and the coastwise slave trade be necessary and Christian customs, why is it that the foreign trade should be felonious and piratical? Perhaps the Church is wise in her generation in refusing to commit herself against it.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ANNIVERSARY.

The Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held at West Chester on Wednesday and Thursday of last week, was an occasion of the deepest interest to its friends, and, we doubt not, of great usefulness to the cause it was intended to promote. We are sure our readers will not regret that so much of our space is filled by the report of its proceedings. The audiences, from first to last, were more numerous, we think, than at any former meeting of the Society within our recollection. Making due allowance for the exceedingly fine weather, there is still ground to infer from this fact a growing interest in the cause as represented by the Society. The citizens of West Chester, who are of a somewhat conservative type, evidently regard the Society with a more favorable eye than they did a few years ago; their prejudices at least are so far abated as to make them willing if not eager auditors at its anniversaries. This, of itself, is a sign of progress, in view of which the friends of the slave have cause for congratulation and hopefulness.

The spirit of the meeting, too, was excellent, being marred by no dissension, and no effort to compromise the testimonies of the Society. Love of the cause seemed paramount in all hearts over party feeling and sectarian prejudice. The chair was occupied most of the time by the venerable James Mott, the President of the Society, whose gray hairs are a crown of honor, and whose long and faithful service of the cause has justly endeared him to its friends. The principal speakers were (to mention first those from abroad) Charles C. Burleigh, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Rev. Samuel Longfellow, Aaron M. Powell, Lucretia Mott, Mary Grew, Robert Purvis, Rev. W. H. Furness, J. M. McKim, and Edward M. Davis Some whose names are not included in this list took a useful, though less conspicuous, part in the proceedings. Mr. Burleigh's speeches were, as usual, powerful and convincing expositions of fundamental principles as related to the duties of the hour. Mr. Powell's clearness of moral perception and discrimination, earnestness of manner, and fearless handling of practical questions, commended him as "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." The presence of Messrs. Longfellow, Frothingham and Furness on the second day added greatly to the interest of the meeting. They all spoke cheering, impressive and edifying words. Of Mr. Frothingham's address we have a report, which want of room compels us to defer; and we hope to secure a report of Mr. Furness's remarks in time for our next issue. Miss Grew's speech on Wednesday evening was characterized by sound argument, high moral tone, and a pathos that touched and moved every heart. Of this, too, we hope to have a report next week. Mrs. Mott's addresses, though brief, afforded valuable counsel, especially to the younger friends of the cause. Mr. Purvis spoke several times with even more than his usual fire and impressiveness. Mr. Davis rendered good service in elucidating practical issues, and especially in presenting the financial claims of the Society.

The prominent topic of consideration was the movement to make Pennsylvania a Free State by the enactment of a Personal Liberty law similar to that lately placed on the statute-book of Vermont. Mr. McKim, the Corresponding Secretary, made this point prominent not only in his official Statement in behalf of the Executive Committee, but in several less formal addresses. On this subject, too, Messrs. Burleigh and Powell spoke with great earnestness and power, and the whole assembly appeared to respond to their arguments and appeals. The proposition to appoint a large Committee of friends of the cause in different parts of the State to circulate petitions was warmly responded to.

Wendell Phillips's Fraternity Lecture.—We regret the impossibility of finding room this week for the lecture delivered by Wendell Phillips, at the opening of the Fraternity Course, in Boston, on the 4th inst. We shall publish it next week from a copy revised by Mr. Phillips himself. He has uttered no braver or more seasonable word since the hour that he first dedicated himself to the cause of freedom and humanity. The Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says:

"We are having a reaction from the extreme of 'complimentary flunkeyism' with which we have been deluged. Wendell Phillips's oration before the Fraternity could not be considered complimentary towards Dr. Bellows, or Dr. Adams, or Mr. Everett, or Mr. Choate, or Mr. Webster. Dr. Bellows was paid off with usurious interest for his recent flings at Phillips and Parker, and the orator's onslaught upon Choate and Webster was terrific. I had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Phillips. His voice seemed more musical and his manner more graceful and his presence more magical than ever. I think the feeling of even that radical audience was one of wonder and astonishment at his audacity in thus daring to criticize the Boston idols, rather than of entire approbation of the criticism itself. Yet there was scarcely any dissent. I think the conservatives were charmed, even if angry; the radicals strengthened, and the indifferents went away in a more thinking mood than usual. These Fraternity lecturers bid fair to be a great success, as they were last year. The managers paid Parker $500 for four lectures last year, and most of their other lecturers $100 each—none less than $75—and yet made money. The list of lecturers is a curious commentary upon the boast the conservatives make that they have all the talent. Look at it—Phillips, George Sumner, Whipple, Emerson, Beecher, Frederick Douglass, Chapin, Mrs. Lippincott, Bayard Taylor, Curtis, Higginson, Garrison and Carl Schurz! And about the only attractions of the Mercantile Library course are the two lectures by Beecher."

A Good Resolution.—We perceive by the minutes of the ninety-third annual meeting of the Warren Association of Rhode Island (which embodies thirty-eight Baptist Churches, and more than seven thousand communicants) that the following resolution, moved by Charles Howard Malcom, of Newport, was adopted:

"Whereas many thousands of the children of God in this land are held in unjust bondage, denied the rights of common humanity, forbidden to read the Word of God, and are kept in hereditary poverty, ignorance and suffering; therefore,

"Resolved, That we, as an Association, do sympathize with our brethren and sisters in Christ who are thus oppressed, and that we will use every means within our power, civil and religious, to bring about the ultimate removal from our country of a system which, judged by the teachings of Jesus, is cruel towards men, and offensive to God."

The Character of Louis Kossuth.—If there are among our readers any who yet doubt that the Abolitionists rightly estimated the character of Kossuth at the time of his visit to the United States, we commend to their attention the letter from London, copied on the fourth page, from *The Tribune*. How clear is the truth that he who, for any reason, connives at slavery in the United States cannot be a true friend of liberty anywhere?

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society was held in Horticultural Hall, in West Chester, commencing on Wednesday, Oct. 6th, at half-past 10 o'clock, a. m.

James Mott, the venerable President of the Society, in calling the meeting to order, expressed the gratification he felt in seeing the spacious hall so nearly filled with earnest friends of the cause. We meet, said he, to abolish slavery. Twenty-three years had elapsed since the organization of the Society, and, though much had been done, its object was far from accomplished. The Slave Power was still bold and aggressive, and the victims of oppression, multiplied and multiplying, were still crying to us for relief. Some of the laborers in the cause had grown old in its service, but he hoped that younger and equally earnest champions would come forward to fill the places which the fathers and mothers must soon vacate, and that ere long liberty would be proclaimed "throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Lucretia Mott said that it was very cheering to her to see so large an attendance, and to witness the kindly greetings of those whose hearts were one in the love of a common cause. And while so many of the older laborers in the cause were passing away, it was encouraging to look in the faces of the young and to see that "instead of the fathers were the children." However far we have come short of attaining our primary object, we still witness many fruits of our labors. We have at least blessed ourselves by our efforts to bless our oppressed and downtrodden countrymen; and it should be to us all cause for congratulation and thankfulness that we have been enabled to labor for so long a period in a cause of so much importance not only to ourselves, but to the world. In spite of the efforts to revive the foreign slave trade, she doubted not that many evidences would be presented, before the close of the meeting, that the cause is making encouraging progress.

Joseph A. Dugdale alluded to the religious spirit which had ever characterized the anti-slavery movement, and which, in the early days, found expression in the words, "Our trust for victory is solely in God." After thirty years of labor, we had still occasion to ask, "Watchman, what of the night?" What of the dark and awful night of slavery, which still enshrouds four millions of God's immortal children? Are there any signs that it is coming to an end? We know that error has in itself the seeds of death, but are there any visible tokens that slavery is approaching its fall? He hoped so, certainly, in spite of every discouragement by which we were surrounded. The speaker illustrated the claims of the oppressed upon our sympathy by a story of a child lost and recovered in Chicago, and by a touching allusion to the slave mother in Washington who killed her own child to save it from the horrors of slavery. That mother was denounced as a murderer, cruel and unfeeling, but, from his heart of hearts, he reverenced her, though he could not approve of her act. What a system was slavery, when it could drive a mother to imbrue her hands in the blood of her own offspring!

William Barnard offered an appropriate and impressive prayer.

The following Committees were then appointed.

Business Committee—J. Miller McKim, Robert Purvis, C. C. Burleigh, Joseph Moore, Aaron M. Powell, Mary Grew, Oliver Johnson, Rebecca Pierce, George Atkinson, Simon Barnard.

Finance Committee—Edward M. Davis, Alice Jackson, Mahlon B. Linton, Ruth Anna Peirce, Joseph A. Dugdale, Thomas Garrett.

Committee on Nominations—John Agnew, Phebe Goodwin, John Cox, Sarah M. Barnard, Chandler Darlington, Simmons Coates, Sarah Pugh.

The President announced that the platform was free—that opponents as well as friends of the Society were invited to take part in the discussions.

Reuben Tomlinson, Recording Secretary, read the following letter:

From Rev. Arthur B. Bradford.

Newcastle, Pa., Sept. 1859.

Your letter, containing an invitation to attend the twenty-third annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, is received. It was during the meetings immediately preceding the formation of your Society, in Philadelphia, that I began my anti-slavery career. I remember with pleasure the names and the virtues of those heroic women who met in Clarkson Hall, when to be an Abolitionist exposed one's life as well as reputation. How the times have changed since then! The little stone of Truth cut out of the obscure mountain-side has indeed become a great mountain! But it does not yet fill the whole of our American earth. The cloud that arose above the horizon in 1837, no bigger than a man's hand, has indeed covered the whole heavens, but the heavy and oppressive atmosphere has not been purified by copious showers of rain. We sometimes become discouraged by looking too constantly *forward* to see what is yet to be accomplished, instead of *backward* to notice what has actually been gained. Considering all things, we have made as much, if not more, progress in the past twenty-five years of our labor in abolishing American slavery as Clarkson, Wilberforce and their coadjutors did during the same amount of time in exterminating West Indian slavery. American slavery has entrenched itself behind battlements such as never defended the institution in the West Indies. The Christianity of the British Isles was opposed to the evil. The evil was afar off. But our slavery is omnipresent in its influence. Its baleful presence is in the North as well as the South. It has intertwined itself around the prejudices and the seeming interests of the people. Besides, we pray and sing psalms over it. We baptize it in the thrice holy name of God. We bring it to the communion-table and there give it the right hand of fellowship. The Pharisees and Doctors of the Law sanction and sanctify it. They embalm it in the "holy white"—enivel out their tearful anathemas against the Abolitionists, alleging that Abraham, the father of the faithful, was a slaveholder, and therefore that slavery cannot be *malum in se*, and ought not to be *malum prohibitum*.

But, with these fearful odds against us, and notwithstanding the errors and blunders we have made, the cause is advancing and must advance. The anti-slavery men and women of the United States are the *aristocracy* of the land, in the correct sense of that word. Our enemies themselves being judges, for intelligence, taste, morality and the fear of God, there is no body of men like them. They are the superlative degree of the adjective good. And as the *best people* have an inherent and God-given right, through the divine principles they have espoused and advocate, to rule, so we will yet rule by the prevalence of our principles. In our great moral warfare, we have nothing to do with carnal weapons but to repudiate their use as ordinary means. Yet we can take hints from even an enemy. The secret of Napoleon's success as a military conqueror was his *expectation and determination to succeed*. So we have *determined* to abolish slavery, root and branch. It is only a question of time. No matter what obstacle stands in our way, we must reach the object of our labors—the complete extermination of slavery from the face of the whole earth. Morality, religion, popular intelligence, commerce, and the whole of our national well-being, are bound up with the American slave, and must either suffer or rejoice with him. Hence, in abolishing slavery, we secure other great interests.

I am sorry that it will be out of my power to meet you at West Chester, to revive old acquaintanceships and to form new ones, and especially to give my poor assistance in a combined endeavor to make dear old Pennsylvania a *free State* in fact as well as in name. Poor dear old mother of us all! although her *heart* is right, she is led round by her degenerate sons, like a blind woman, through the ditches and quagmires of dishonor till her garments are defiled with shame. We of the West will assist you in executing the plan on foot. We can be relied on to do so. The intelligence of Pennsylvania is in the Western counties, as is proved by the vote cast in the last Presidential election. Yes, the West is safe. But when you leave the summit of the Alleghanies, it is like the descent into Egypt—clear down to Philadelphia, the Grand Cairo of Lower Egypt—the place where anti-slavery flourishes, as yet, only like an exotic plant!

Imploring the blessing of God on your deliberations and the execution of your plans, I remain, with assurances of personal esteem and regard,

Yours, in the cause of God and Man,

Arthur B. Bradford.

J. M. McKim, the Corresponding Secretary, read the following resolutions, which he said had been adopted by the Executive Committee:

Whereas the Constitution of the Society imposes on this Committee the duty of reporting "to the Annual Meeting the amount of money it has received, its expenditures, and such other matters as may properly claim the attention of the Society"; and whereas the annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which we learn is in preparation, will embrace all the facts, in and out of this State, supposed to be worthy of record, making any additional recital on our part a work of superfluous labor; therefore,

Resolved, That it is expedient this year to omit our usual written report, except so far as relates to the fiscal concerns of the Society, and to substitute therefor a verbal statement, such as will meet the requisitions of the Constitution.

Resolved, That this statement should include all striking facts illustrative of the doctrines of the Society or indicating the growth of our cause; such, for instance, as the sale at public auction in Savannah, by a Pennsylvanian, of 436 men, women and children to the highest bidder, with the strong expressions of horror and disgust generally elicited by a published report of the same; the facts of the arrest and trial of Daniel Webster, an alleged fugitive slave; the deep interest felt in his case, and the unparalleled joy produced by his deliverance; the introduction into the Senate and House of Representatives at Harrisburg of a bill designed to secure the personal liberty of all residents on our soil, and the evidence furnished that a bill of this purport, though as yet meeting but little favor, must ere long become a law of the State; the increased respect felt for the rights of the colored man as manifested in the resistance made to his exclusion from the conveniences of the city railways, and other evidences of an interest in his welfare; and especially the general expressions of shame at the humiliating part this State has for years taken in the support of the slave system, and the strong unwillingness manifested that this condition of things should longer continue.

Resolved, That, based on this statement, a strong appeal should be made to the Society for their co-operation in procuring the passage of a Personal Liberty bill; that the importance of this measure, to the State and to the cause, should be duly set forth, and such action demanded as the exigency of the case requires.

Resolved, That the experience of the past year has been in the highest degree encouraging; that it has assured us of the increasing strength of our cause, and the steady spread of its principles among the people; and that we are as ever convinced that nothing is needed to final success, and that in due time, but a patient continuance in the use of the means which have thus far proved so beneficial.

Mr. McKim said that these resolutions had been unanimously adopted by the Committee, and that, as it was the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to prepare the Annual Report, the task of making the "statement" herein referred to naturally devolved on him.

The resolutions, though short, were, happily, so comprehensive as to leave but little to add, except in the way of amplification.

Perhaps the most striking development, in the experience of the past year, was that to which allusion is made in the second resolution; the sense of shame evinced by the State in view of her pro-slavery degradation. Pennsylvania used to glory in her baseness; now she has recovered sufficient sense of decency and self-respect to be mortified at her reduced position. The time was, and that not far back, when no work was too dirty for her to do; no act of subserviency to the Slave Power too degrading for her to submit to. In the abjectness of her devotion and the super-serviceableness of her zeal in this behalf, she was without a peer. Her mobs in behalf of slavery were more numerous and malignant than those of any other free State. Costly halls were razed to their foundations, churches laid in ashes, and the lives of innocent men put in peril, to satisfy her remorseless behests. She had sent more "doughfaces"—thanks to John Randolph for the word, our nomenclature were incomplete without it—to Congress than any other free State. Was the area of slavery to be enlarged by the acquisition of new territory, the Democratic delegates of Pennsylvania could be counted on to go in a body for the measure. Was a Fugitive Slave law to be passed, no fears of the delegates from Pennsylvania. Was a pledge of faith in past legislation to be revoked, and new territory opened to the incursions of slavery, Pennsylvania could be relied on to furnish her usual proportion of votes to turn the scale. Was an infamous minority Constitution to be forced on a majority of freedom-preferring people, for the unconcealed purpose of strengthening and extending the slave system—whatever other State might demur and hold back, Pennsylvania would be sure to come to the mark.

Thus it had been from the beginning until a very recent period in the past. Pennsylvanians should bear in mind these things. This is the State in which Hanway and Lewis, Scarlet and Jackson, Clarkson and Williams, and thirty-two others, were tried for high treason; their offence having been that of incurring the suspicion of aiding in resistance to the Fugitive Slave law. This is the State in which a respectable citizen of Philadelphia was imprisoned an hundred days in a felon's cell on the charge of "contempt of court"; his real offence having been that he had aided in giving freedom to a mother and her two children, who were held as slaves in this State, contrary to its laws. This was the State which had, by its chief judicature, aimed a blow at the, home-born right of habeas corpus, and taunted with its sneers the man who, in prison, had asked for its benefits. This was the State of Ingram and Kane, Alberti and McAllister, of Judge Black, who, on the bench, had sanctioned the imprisonment of Passmore Williamson, and, as the President's constitutional adviser, was at this time inundating the country with copies of an essay, to sustain the odious doctrines of the Dred Scott decision. This is the State of James Buchanan, the most unscrupulously pro-slavery President that has ever been entrusted with the reins of the government; the man who outbid his pro-slavery competitors for the nomination, and who has exceeded even his pledges in his devotedness to the slaveholding interests.

Such is the record and such has been the past character of the State embraced by this Society. Both are discreditable to the last degree.

"But we are persuaded better things (of Pennsylvania) and things which accompany salvation," though we thus speak. Our Commonwealth has at last the grace to be at least measurably ashamed of her dishonor, and to show signs of returning decency. Her people blush when reminded that the largest slave auction in the history of the man-market was made by a Pennsylvanian, and that Pennsylvanian too in some sense a political and religious leader; that he was a member of the Convention which inserted the invidious word "white" in our Constitution, and a vestryman in the Church which turned Dudley Tyng out of the Epiphany and installed a slaveholder in his stead.

And while Pennsylvanians are humbled by the consciousness that their State has returned more victims under the Fugitive Slave law than any other in the confederacy, they point with satisfaction to the demonstrations in the Daniel Webster case, that slave-catching in Pennsylvania has come to an end; to the interest manifested in that case by all classes of the people, the exultation felt at his delivery, and the determination that was so generally expressed that Pennsylvania should be no longer hunting-ground to the slaveholder.

Mr. McKim enlarged upon the disposition manifested in Pennsylvania to ask until it was granted a bill that would secure to all its innocent residents the safe enjoyment of their personal liberty. He mentioned other evidences also, besides those already recounted, of a favorable change in the people of the State. The continual dropping which wears away the stone had at last made its impression on the flinty heart of Pennsylvania. Her pity was moved for the slaves. Her growing respect for the free colored man was daily manifest; as were also her waning reverence for the Union and her increased contempt for her whilom slaveholding masters. These things were made apparent by many signs, such, for instance, as the prompt suppression of the mob by the city authorities when they attempted to put down an anti-slavery meeting—a new thing in the history of our cause in Philadelphia; the lively interest felt in the abducted Butler family in the County of Cumberland, and the zeal manifested in the capture of the offenders, by men and officials who used to be leaders in the arrest and rendition of runaway slaves; the respect paid to a published communication of a colored man—the assistant in the Anti-Slavery office—remonstrating against the exclusion of colored people from the city railways, and change of policy adopted by the directors of these railways in consequence; the cordial reception given to an anti slavery lecturer in the interior counties of the State, where mob violence used to prevail; the large attendance which waits on anti-slavery meetings wherever they have been held; the return to Congress of the most anti-slavery delegation that has for years been sent to Washington; the election of John M. Reed, one of the counsel of Hanway and Lewis and one of the counsel of Passmore Williamson, to the seat on the supreme bench of the State once occupied by Judge Black, and that by an overwhelming majority; all these things indicate that a happy change has come over the people of Pennsylvania, and encourage the hope that in due time she will resume the place she once occupied in the van of Freedom.

What has been done has been accomplished not by party management or political machinery, but by the power of the Truth; by the "foolishness of preaching"; by the "rub-a-dub of abolition"; by the iteration and reiteration of those great truths which lie at the foundation of this enterprise, and which are mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. These are the means which have brought us thus far; these the means by which our cause is finally to triumph. Nothing is needed to this end but a faithful and laborious persistence in their use.

Edward M. Davis spoke earnestly upon the importance of liberal contributions to the Society at the present time, to enable it to improve the opportunities for useful labor that constantly present themselves.

Aaron M. Powell made a brief but stirring address, showing the importance of earnest action at the present time. The cloud of oppression that hung over the land was appallingly black, and could be dispelled only by persistent and energetic labor. He was struck by the remark of the President on calling the meeting to order, viz., "*We meet to abolish slavery.*" Not merely to prevent the *extension* of the system, but to destroy it root and branch. It was the nature of slavery to diffuse itself, and so long as it was tolerated anywhere, upon any pretence, all efforts to counteract its inherent tendency would, of necessity, be futile. The speaker illustrated the inroads of slavery by the fable of the camel, which, after obtaining leave to put its head within the door, finally crowded in his whole body, and, on being remonstrated with by the owner for the intrusion, imp

they had in '56. The unwelcome lesson to many of their leaders—most welcome to some of their leaders, and I hope to the majority of the rank and file—that the black man is born with the right to life and liberty, must be taught to them by you, and you can do it. You will make whatever party professes to be on the side of human freedom see that the one element of salt and salvation that will keep them and bring them to the perfect success they long for must be a bold and persistent demand for the abolition of slavery, now and at once, all over the Union. Sincerely yours, ROBERT COLLYER.

From Rev. A. L. Post.

MONTROSE, Sept. 30, 1859.

Your note, urging my attendance at the meeting of our State Anti-Slavery Society, came duly to hand. I thank you for it, and should be happy to respond to it in person. The proposition to make a special effort to free Pennsylvania entirely from the curse of slavery meets my hearty approval, and, if made, will find in me, the Lord willing, an earnest coöperator.

The proposition, in the light of our "Bill of Rights" and boasted position as "the keystone of the great Federal arch," seems very strange; but in the light of experience and slavery-astounding facts, there is great need the proposition should be made, and speedily executed. Too long already has the word "white," with its invidious and inhuman distinctions, cursed our State Constitution. Too long has the man-hunter been permitted, to say nothing of aid rendered, like the prowling wolf to infest our borders, and steal into the sanctum of personal rights. We ought to have a Personal Liberty law that would incarcerate the kidnapper, with all who directly or indirectly aid him in his bloodhound work. For this there should be honest, earnest and persevering effort, with pen and voice, and votes. If we cannot speedily have such a law, let us lay our fugitive track above ground, and man it, if possible, with such men as "Old John Brown," of Kansas notoriety. At least let us have our dépôts, for rest and refreshment to freedom's pilgrims, above ground, defended with a will, that shall stamp falsity upon that infamous dictum which declares that "the black man has no rights which the white man is bound to respect." I would that every dépôt might be like our own, a terminus of the railroad itself. Years ago, a drove of kidnappers, panic-stricken, fled from our town, never to return. Hopeless in their flight, all the way along, they left, in their own appropriate, not to say uncouth, language, their testimony—"You might as well attempt to get a nigger out of hell as to get him out of Montrose."

This sort of Liberty law we ought to have extended in its jurisdiction all over the State, if we can get no better one at the hands of our Legislature. But let us hope and work. If we do not want the smell of blood, let us one and all exert our moral, ecclesiastical and civil power to the utmost to make Pennsylvania a free State—a State not only free from kidnappers, but free from their priestly, judicial, legislative and executive pimps.

Circumstances forbid that I should be personally with you at West Chester, but in spirit and object, as well as by this hasty epistle, I expect to be there.

May He who has "no attributes which can take sides with the oppressor" be with and determine the action of the meeting. Your friend, A. L. POST.

From John S. Mann.

COWDERSPORT, Potter Co., Pa., Sept. 30, 1859.

* * * I will just say that I am with you in your effort to make this a *free* State; and that I will see that petitions for that object are circulated in every township in this county.

I enclose a mite to assist in defraying the expense of printing and circulating petitions. I hope you will get up a meeting at Harrisburg, during the sessions of the Legislature, to strengthen the hands of the members whose hearts are right.

Yours, for freedom, JOHN S. MANN.

From Rev. S. K. Kane.

DARLINGTON, Pa., Oct. 1, 1859.

After an absence of several days, I have just reached home and found your letter on my table.

Nothing would give me so much pleasure as to attend the meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; but my engagements entirely preclude the possibility of my doing so.

There is not one free State in this Union. It is a damning sin that nowhere in the country is there one foot of soil upon which the poor black is a free man. And the laws of this country forbid me to imitate Jesus Christ, or to obey his divine teachings, under heavy penalties of fine and imprisonment. If I am free, it is because I *will not be enslaved.*

The position and the teachings of the Church have made of us a nation of liars, hypocrites and thieves. The Church claims to be a teacher of morals, the exponent of justice between man and man, the protector and defender of the poor and needy, while at the same time it *robs*, and *lies*, and *steals*, and *murders*, and then, with the mock sanctity of the ancient Pharisee, it puts the price of the blood of its victims into the treasury of the Lord for the conversion of the heathen!!! "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves."

I would feel myself happy to be able in any way to promote the cause of human freedom, by aiding your Society in its noble enterprise.

Let me assure you that, to free the State of Pennsylvania and every other State of this Union from that cursed subserviency to the Slave Power under which we groan, my humble efforts shall never be wanting.

Yours, truly, S. K. KANE.

OLIVER JOHNSON read the following letter.

From John G. Fee.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3, 1859.

The Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society kindly extended to me an invitation to attend their annual meeting, but such are my engagements that I must hasten on to New York. I feel constrained, however, to contribute something, if possible, to the interest of your meeting. I notice, first, that the great object of your Society, in common with other Anti-Slavery Societies, is the practical development of one of the first truths which this nation proclaimed to the world, and which she yet retains formally, as the practical faith of the nation, namely, "*The end of government is the protection of man.*" It is said that on one occasion Daniel Webster affirmed that the great end of government is the protection of property. This is practically the end proposed by many now. It is a great blunder. Let man, universal man, be protected, equal rights guaranteed to all, and property will be developed in such abundance as to bring our nation into equal competition with the rest of the world. How absurd to talk about protection of property, when man, for whom property is made, is not protected! Last evening, while in this city, I listened to an address to what was called the "People's party." The speaker ignored even the Republican position—"exclusion of slavery from all territory"—and claimed as the basis of the People's party, first, "a protective tariff, and, secondly popular sovereignty."

Now, can it be that the people of Pennsylvania will consent to remain criminals in the sight of God and the world, for the sake of a small profit on iron? To-day they are partakers in the crime of robbing man of personal ownership. To-day their territory is the hunting-ground of the slaveholder, and their court-rooms are halls where unoffending men are delivered up to those who hold these men as chattels. Pennsylvania ties the hands, puts on the manacles, and the slaveholder carries the poor man back! Pennsylvania does this while she builds and garnishes the sepulchres of men who performed the deeds of the fugitive—struggled for liberty. I almost wonder that Franklin and Penn and others do not rise from their graves, rebuke their sons, and, in old Independence Hall, again exhort the people first to struggle for liberty; for the very coffers of the people who ask for a tariff, while they neglect the cause of liberty, are filled with the price of blood. Possibly for a time a tariff may be wise, but oh! for consistency's sake, for humanity's sake, shall the people make this first? No! No!! Let the people of Pennsylvania walk in the footsteps of their great ancestor, Penn—make liberty first, and provide for the protection of property afterward.

The next position assumed by the speaker I have referred to was "popular sovereignty." Our fathers, in the Ordinance of 1787, excluded slavery from the Territories. They made a constitutional provision that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. These degenerate sons say slavery may be carried into the Territories by the will of the masters, without any process of law. Certainly over the Territories the Federal Government has jurisdiction; yet these sons are not willing either to follow precedents, or exercise constitutional power. They may say slavery will be crowded out by free State organization. That is assertion, not proof: so far as these men are concerned, it will not, for they affirm they are "compromisers," and such may restore a Missouri compromise. They seem not to oppose slavery anywhere. Now, is not this a time for you and all lovers of liberty to work energetically and perseveringly?

Another feature in your movement, which has my whole heart, is your practical love of man, irrespective of complexion. You *give* to all men practical equality on the rostrum and in the counting-room. This stimulates to industrious and virtuous effort. The public mind needs a practical regeneration in this respect. So deeply do we feel this in Kentucky that we have resolved to carry it out not only in our Church relations, but also in our schools. I have but little hope of the abolition of slavery until we can inspire in the minds of the masses more respect for man, universal man. As long as we consent that any class of men may be degraded, we give to their enemies a reason for their enslavement.

I feel intensely in reference to the national election in 1860. I did not vote in 1856. I am not opposed to voting, but was not wholly satisfied then with the candidate of the Republican party. I feel that all lovers of freedom should unite in primary meetings, and bring before the nation men who have some anti-slavery antecedents—men whose past life is a pledge of faithfulness beyond any paper platform. If we do not press the claims of such men, mere office-seekers will fill the posts of power, with compromisers who will continue to curse the land with wicked enactments. Let us go into every convention, demand righteous rulers, and exercise our balance of power to secure such.

In some way I want speedily to see the poor slave redeemed, and our country purified from caste and oppression in all of their forms. To be co-workers with God for such an object is a glorious privilege, and should command our united and persevering efforts.

JOHN G. FEE.

EUSEBIUS BARNARD offered a few remarks, exhorting his fellow-laborers to make use of every legitimate instrumentality for the overthrow of slavery.

J. MILLER MCKIM, from the Business Committee, submitted several resolutions, which, being open for discussion, were supported by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH in an eloquent and forcible address. He vindicated the humanity of the black man, and showed that slavery is a *malum in se*. He answered the current arguments in favor of slavery, and proved conclusively that, if carried out to their logical results, they would destroy all the foundations of human rights, and even undermine the throne of the living God!

The Finance Committee having commenced the work of soliciting funds, LUCRETIA MOTT made a few remarks on that subject.

J. MILLER MCKIM called the attention of the meeting to the first resolution, and submitted an argument to show that American slavery is "the vilest under the sun."

REUBEN TOMLINSON wished to urge upon this Society the importance of making the movement in favor of a Personal Liberty bill a leading measure for the coming year. Pennsylvania had been sunk lower than any other Northern State by the operation of the Fugitive Slave law, and the only way in which she could retrieve her bartered honor was by taking an open and determined position against the execution of that infamous law within her borders.

To those who took shelter behind Constitutional requirements he would say, in the first place, that the law which we seek to nullify is unconstitutional. Again, admitting it to be constitutional, the South has violated the compact over and over again, and we are consequently released from our part of the bargain; and in a war like that now going on between Slavery and Freedom, the passage of such a bill will be but a fair reprisal.

He alluded to the recent action of the Episcopal Convention in New York, with regard to the memorial introduced by John Jay, and said that the way in which it was received was additional proof that clergymen, when they set themselves about it, excel any other class in manifestations of rowdyism and bad manners. In view of this and similar facts, while he was willing to admit the force of the cheering evidences of progress that had been cited by previous speakers, he could not but feel that an immense work was yet to be done, and that the future would probably be more laborious than the past. The contemptuous rejection of a memorial against the reöpening of the African slave trade, by a large religious organization, argues a depth of moral corruption which can only be removed by the enforcement of the highest principles of Truth and Freedom.

EDWARD M. DAVIS called the attention of the meeting to the "Compendium of Helper's Crisis of the South," pronouncing it a most valuable compilation of facts and arguments, and urging Abolitionists to aid in circulating it. He also spoke of Wendell Phillips's argument for a Personal Liberty law, recommending its circulation in this State as a means of enlightening the people and inducing them to petition our Legislature for the enactment of laws making Pennsylvania a free State in deed as well as in name. Mr. Davis also urged the importance of cultivating music as a powerful agency for exciting in the hearts of the people a feeling of sympathy for the slave and leading them to labor earnestly for his deliverance. The Quaker influence upon our movement, in this respect, had been deleterious; but the speaker hoped that the young people in our ranks would cultivate the faculty with which they had been endowed, and learn to use it for the promotion of the cause.

SARAH PUGH, Treasurer of the Society, presented the following Report, which was accepted:

THE TREASURER *in account with the* PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, *for the year ending Oct. 1st, 1859.*

DR.

To Philadelphia Female A. S. Society	$1,225 00
" Individual Subscription	1,491 59
" Legacy of Frances Moore	475 00
" Sales of Books, Tracts, &c.	367 50
" Publishing Agent	1,172 92
	$4,732 01

CR.

By Agents	$1,716 73
" Books	135 74
" American A. S. Society	1,860 12
" Rent of Office	232 84
" Sundries	786 58
	$4,732 01

October 1st, 1858. SARAH PUGH.

After a few remarks by Mrs. MOTT, the meeting adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The President occupied the chair.

REUBEN TOMLINSON made a few remarks upon the conduct of the railways in Philadelphia, in not permitting colored people to ride in their cars on equal terms with whites. He related some cases of oppression under the operation of their rule on this subject, and reminded the audience that as the companies were chartered by the Legislature, the country people were involved with those of the city in responsibility for such inhumanity.

C. C. BURLEIGH called attention to the fact that colored people are excluded by statutory provision from the State Insane Asylum! Taxed for the support of this as well as other public institutions, they have yet no share in its advantages. Such exhibitions of the spirit of caste were evidently disgraceful to the people of Pennsylvania.

AARON M. POWELL, in view of the facts just stated, said he had asked himself in what age and in what country he lived? Could this be the land of the free and the home of the brave? How does it happen that, in the land which boasts itself the asylum of the oppressed, such glaring violations of human rights were continually occurring? Slavery was the prolific cause of these and numerous other evils. He then went into an argument to show the responsibility of the North for this system, and made an earnest and impressive appeal in behalf of the movement for a Personal Liberty law. The necessity of such a law and the duty of Pennsylvania to enact it were exhibited with great clearness and force, while the objections usually urged against the measure were conclusively answered. The utter disregard of the Constitution on the part of the South was shown, on the authority of a principle announced by Daniel Webster, to have absolved the North from all obligation to maintain the instrument. The time had come for the people of the free States to assume their sovereign rights, whatever might become of the Union.

MARY GREW then delivered an address which, by its pathos and eloquence, touched every heart. We hope to receive a report of it for publication next week.

ROBERT PURVIS was the next speaker. His words were like coals of fire, and they fell with visible effect upon the hearts and consciences of the listeners. His description of the impudence and effrontery of the American people, in pretending to be friends of freedom while they are holding four millions of slaves, was as truthful as it was severe. He closed with the declaration (in the words of another), that he would welcome the bolt, whether coming from heaven or hell, that should shiver the American Union to pieces! This sentiment was loudly applauded by a considerable portion of the audience.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH then delivered an address, in which, with great power of argument and eloquence, he demonstrated the duty of the North, Constitution or no Constitution, Union or no Union, to protect the liberty of the fugitive slave and drive the kidnapper from her soil. No other than a verbatim report could do justice either to the argument or to the eloquence by which it was enforced. He showed that the people of the North, while eulogizing their fathers for sundering a political Union with England, were sustaining a Union with the slaveholding States tenfold more oppressive than that.

SECOND DAY.

The Society assembled at 10 o'clock, a. m., JAMES MOTT, President, in the chair.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE read appropriate selections from the Scriptures.

The Recording Secretary being absent, SIMON BARNARD was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*

Mr. MCKIM, from the Business Committee, presented several resolutions, which were accepted for discussion.

JOHN MADISON then addressed the meeting. He did not agree in the construction put upon the Constitution by this Society. He contended that there was no slavery in it, but the contrary—that the existence of the system was due to the mal-administration of the government. He entered into an argument in support of his position, but concluded with saying that he had no controversy with this Society; he was in favor of the abolition of slavery, whether effected by disunion or in any other way.

ELIZABETH T. GREENFIELD (known as the "Black Swan") sung, with thrilling effect, the song, "Pity the Slave."

C. C. BURLEIGH spoke in favor of the movement for a Personal Liberty law, to prevent slave-hunting in Pennsylvania, and replied to the common objection that such a law would conflict with the Constitution and endanger the Union. The principal points which he made were,

1. That the objectors themselves, and indeed the whole American people, practically condemn the objection, by continually eulogizing the Revolutionary Fathers for having dissolved the Union and trampled on the Constitution of the British empire, of which this country was a part, though the reasons for so doing were less urgent than ours for the measure we demand, inasmuch as their act was done to escape from wrong-*suffering*, while ours is proposed to avoid what is far worse, wrong-*doing*; and moreover the wrong we would not *do*—the enslavement of men—is immeasurably greater than the wrong they would not suffer—mere political vassalage.

2. That we have no right to obey a human Constitution, or preserve a political Union, which requires disobedience of the Divine law; the doing of flagrant injustice; and as reducing men to slavery, or keeping them in it, is the most flagrant injustice, one of the grossest violations of the Divine law, no human law can bind us to do or justify us in doing it.

3. That giving up a fugitive to slavery is contrary also to the universally acknowledged principles of human government and constitutional law; for it is held by all writers on law and government that protection is due from the government to all who owe it obedience; if, therefore, the slave owes obedience to the government, it owes him protection in all his rights and against all injustice, and of course against the greatest of all wrongs, enslavement; but if, on the other hand, the government does not owe him protection, then he does not owe it obedience, and consequently it has no right to compel, or require its subjects to compel, submission to its behests.

4. That a breach of compact on the one side releases the other side from its obligations; annuls the compact; and the Slave Power having again and again broken the compact on which its claim is based, we are not bound to respect its claims. The Constitution itself, by which it is alleged that we are bound to give up slaves escaping to us, was set up at first by a breach of compact among the States—having changed, with the consent of only a part of the States, the form of government which the States had all agreed should not be changed without the consent of all; and thus compelled the dissenting States either to acquiesce in the change or be thrust out of the Confederacy. And after they had acquiesced, and come into the new Union, the Constitution was violated, virtually annulled, by the purchase of Louisiana; and when acquiescence in that usurpation had made a new Constitution in place of that framed in 1787, that new one was annulled also (if not before) by the annexation of Texas; thus presenting this alternative: either changes in the fundamental law made by demand unauthorized by the Constitution, on the one side, and acquiescence on the other, are valid, and in that case we have as good a right to demand, and ask the slaveholders to acquiesce, as they to demand and ask us to acquiesce; or such changes are not valid; and in that case Louisiana and Texas are not legitimately in the Union, nor indeed is the Constitution of 1787 even the legitimate Constitution of the country.

5. If it is said that we ask men who have sworn allegiance to the Constitution to break their oaths, we answer, No; we ask, we expect no man to vote for the prohibition of slave-hunting in Pennsylvania who believes both that it is his duty to obey the Constitution and that the Constitution authorizes slave-hunting. But we do hope, by the agitation we have commenced, to bring a majority of the people and of their legislators to feel that they have no right to obey any Constitution which requires slave-hunting, or to tolerate slave-hunting *not* required by the Constitution; and so to forbid it on the one ground or the other, and to us it is a matter of comparative indifference on which.

Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, of New York, on rising to speak, was received with applause. We have a report of his speech, which we are compelled to defer till next week.

Miss GREENFIELD sang an appropriate and touching song.

Adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

JAMES MOTT, President, in the chair.

Mrs. MOTT presented a resolution declaring the purpose of the Society to give the preference to the products of free over those of slave labor. EDWARD M. DAVIS and Mrs. MOTT spoke briefly on the subject, the latter maintaining that a refusal to buy the fruits of the slaves' unrequited toil is one of the legitimate ways of assailing the slave system. Mrs. MOTT also took occasion to remind the friends of the cause of their duty in several other particulars, and urged them especially to be true to their high principles, and never to enter into any compromise with slavery.

Miss GREENFIELD then sung "When stars are in the quiet sky"—a piece which exhibited the wonderful power and compass of her voice, uniting the qualities of the soprano and the baritone.

Rev. SAMUEL LONGFELLOW, of Brooklyn, was warmly greeted. He made a very happy speech, of which the following is the substance:

There is much, amid all discouragements, to cheer the friends of the slave. Though slavery seems as strong as ever, after all our efforts, or even stronger, defiantly boasting itself, entrenching itself, extending itself even to the establishment of the once universally denounced slave trade, we must not be discouraged. We must see in all this the frantic effort of a power that, driven to the wall, turns at bay; this boasting and defiance hide a heart that trembles. We should see in it how this evil (all evils do, thank God!) is working out its own worst, and thus destroying itself—by its very excesses creating the moral opposition that shall overthrow it. The Abolitionists are accounted a *troublesome* people. So they are; and why are they so? Because they are the *conscience* of the nation; and it is the business of conscience to trouble and disturb as long as any evil remains. It is not a pleasant office, but it is a noble one. Wherever conscience comes, wherever the moral sentiment, the idea of right comes, there comes a judge and a judgment. Centuries ago, in the Hebrew land, the whole people were looking down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, expecting the setting up of a great throne there and the coming of Messiah to judgment. Then One stood among them and told them that the judgment was already begun and going on among them; men already coming from moral death to life all around them, if they could but see. It was true, wherever Jesus came proclaiming God's pure Righteousness, then and there came a judgment day. Then and there the sheep and the goats were parted, the faithful separated from the unfaithful. So, wherever he went, the truth he bore divided families, divided synagogues, divided courts and parties. Everywhere "there was a division among the people concerning him." And in this age and country, its great moral movement—the Anti-Slavery movement—is thus *critical*, is a judgment. The day it enters a town, that day is a judgment-day to that town. Then the faithful begin to be separated from the unfaithful. So it has gone through the land, crying, Repent. The truth, like a sword, has divided families and sundered friends; entering Churches, it has severed ministers from people, entering political parties, it has cut them in twain. It is not a pleasant office. Abolitionists love peace as well as other men. But in the presence of Conscience there can be no peace save through Righteousness. It is not a pleasant office, but it is a noble one. Let us be true to it, feel what nobleness it demands in its instruments, what consecration, what purity from the intrusion of personal and petty aims, vanities and passions. Let us be true to it, we shall have our reward in the ennobling moral life it will give us now; and, by and by, in the gratitude of those who, through our fidelity, shall stand redeemed from oppression into the liberty of true manhood—into the possession of their inalienable, but long-denied, rights.

THOMAS GARRETT made some interesting statements respecting fugitive slaves and his agency in enabling them to escape from bondage.

Rev. W. H. FURNESS made a brief but thrilling address, of which we hope to receive a report for our next issue.

AARON M. POWELL made a very interesting address, exposing the short-comings of the Republican party, and especially urging a union of all the friends of freedom in the effort to procure the passage of a Personal Liberty law.

MARY GREW, from the Business Committee, offered a resolution commending the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair and National Bazaar as an important instrumentality for the promotion of the cause. Miss GREW supported the resolution in a brief but pertinent address.

Mr. MCKIM called up the resolutions relating to a Personal Liberty bill, and a call was thereupon made for volunteers to serve on the Committee of One Hundred in circulating petitions. This call was responded to in a very encouraging manner by persons from different parts of the State. The resolutions were adopted.

Miss GREENFIELD sang "Beautiful Leaves."

Resolutions numbered 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were adopted with very little discussion.

After a few remarks by EUSEBIUS BARNARD, the meeting adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The President of the Society took the chair, when prayer was offered by JOSEPH A. DUGDALE; after which Miss GREENFIELD sang one of her beautiful songs.

Resolution number 2 being under consideration, ROBERT PURVIS objected to a clause which he thought impliedly eulogistic of the founders of the American government. He took occasion to express, in very strong terms, his sense of the terrible inconsistency and hypocrisy of the fathers in trampling upon the rights of the colored people. He confessed that he could never think of them but with indignation. He was constrained to brand them as cowards, and toadies of the Slave Power.

A very lively and interesting discussion ensued, in which Levi Coates, Reuben Tomlinson, J. M. McKim, C. C. Burleigh, Mary Grew and Aaron M. Powell took part, and which resulted in striking from the resolution the clause alluded to. The resolution, as thus amended was adopted.

Resolutions numbered 10, 11 and 12 were adopted without discussion.

Rev. J. M. MCCARTER, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church in West Chester, being invited to address the meeting, made a very interesting and candid statement of the guilty relation of that Church to slavery and of the struggle now going on for its purification. His testimony confirmed, in every essential particular, the statements which have often appeared in the anti-slavery papers, and threw light upon some points which many Abolitionists have not well understood. His remarks, evincing a hearty sympathy with the anti-slavery movement, were listened to with great interest.

AARON M. POWELL followed in a clear and forcible exhibition of the views of the Abolitionists in respect to the American Churches, and of the duty to come out of them and to rebuke them as false to their professions.

REUBEN TOMLINSON introduced resolution number 12, supporting it in a few remarks. It was adopted.

Resolution numbered 13 was adopted.

The Committee on the nomination of officers made their report, which was accepted and adopted, as follows:

President—JAMES MOTT.

Vice-Presidents—T. Whitson, R. Purvis.

Corresponding Secretary—J. M. McKim.

Treasurer—Sarah Pugh.

Recording Secretary—R. Tomlinson.

Additional Members of the Executive Committee—L. Mott, A. Kimber, B. C. Bacon, E. M. Davis, M. Grew, M. J. Burleigh, John Child.

Resolutions numbered 14, 45, 16, were adopted.

Miss GREENFIELD then sang "Pity the Slave," and, after a few touching and appropriate remarks by LUCRETIA MOTT, the Society adjourned *sine die.*

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That the American slave system, in the atrocity of its nature and extent of its injuriousness, is an evil without a parallel in the constitution or code of any civilized nation.

2. Resolved, That the chief distinction of this country is, that it leads the world in defence of slavery; that in the ability, zeal and consistency with which it contends for the right of man to make merchandise of his fellow-man, it has a peer in no other nation on the face of the earth.

3. Resolved, That, vast as is our national territory—its rivers and lakes, its mammoth caves and world-renowned waterfalls—these are all as nothing compared with the colossal heights of our national hypocrisy; our boast being that this is "the land of the free and the home of the brave," "an asylum for the oppressed of all nations"—a Christian land, where every one is at liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; while at the same time one-sixth of our people are abject slaves, and those who hold them in this condition, and the nation that permits it, claim that they are performing a Christian duty and obeying the dictates of political justice.

4. Resolved, That a chief reason for our hostility to slavery and our purpose to labor for its overthrow is to be found in the fact that the evil is a national and not a sectional one; that Pennsylvania, as well as Carolina, is involved in its support; and that we, being partakers in its guilt, must to that extent be sharers of its consequences.

5. Resolved, That the degradation to which our relation to slavery has subjected this State, in the consent it has obliged her to give to mob violence and judicial persecution—to the conversion of her Hall of Independence into a slave-barracoon, and its chambers into places for the execution of the Fugitive Slave law—constitutes a chapter in the history of the Commonwealth at which her sons must ever blush, and hang their heads with shame.

6. Resolved, That the time past should suffice us to have wrought the will of the slaveholders; that decency and self respect forbid that this State should any longer be hunting-ground for kidnappers; that hereafter Pennsylvania soil should be consecrate to liberty; so that every fugitive from oppression, whether he escapes the toils of an European despot or the infinitely more galling tyranny of an American slaveholder, as soon as he sets foot on Pennsylvania soil, shall stand forth "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible Genius of Universal Emancipation."

7. Resolved, That the first political duty of Pennsylvanians—a duty which they owe alike to their country and their kind—is to seek, by all reasonable means, the deliverance of this State from its guilty complicity with slavery; and that, in order to this, they should oppose the election to office of any man not favorable to such deliverance, and should, with tireless importunity, besiege the Legislature of the State with petitions to this effect.

8. Resolved, That forms of petitions, similar to the following in phrase or substance, are hereby recommended for general circulation and signature:

To the Senate and House of Representatives.

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Pennsylvania, respectfully ask that you will pass a law securing to every resident of the State, not charged with crime, the enjoyment of personal liberty, and prohibiting the surrender from our borders of any human being claimed as a slave.

9. Resolved, That a Committee be appointed, of not fewer than one hundred persons, whose business it shall be, personally and with the aid of others, whose co-operation they may secure, to circulate these forms of petition, procure signatures, and put them in the way, in due time, of being presented to the Legislature; and that the President of the Society be and hereby is authorised to constitute this Committee and make the same known by publication in THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

10. Resolved, That so long as the Constitution of the United States requires the rendition of the fugitive slave, so long will a promise of allegiance to the Constitution be a great moral wrong, which finds no excuse or palliation in the fact that it is necessary to the use of the elective franchise, or that it is the first step in paths of professional usefulness or political power.

11. Resolved, That in the name of the slave, crushed beneath its despotism—in the name of God, whose laws it defies—we denounce that compact to deliver up to his pursuer the fugitive slave as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," which it is the highest duty of the American people to repudiate at once and forever.

12. Resolved, That, standing as they do upon the eve of another Presidential campaign, the people of Pennsylvania owe it both to self respect and consistency that they give no countenance to any attempt, no matter by whom made, or upon what plea, for the construction of a platform which shall ignore to any extent the anti-slavery issues now pressing upon the country for consideration.

13. Resolved, That the satisfactory information received at this time, of the abundant supply of cotton by free and compensated labor, requires of us the renewal of our purpose, in our Declaration of Sentiments, that "we will encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving the preference to their productions.

14. Resolved, That while we would not invidiously distinguish one Abolitionist above another by words of especial eulogy, there are, nevertheless, circumstances in the case of THEODORE PARKER which entitle his character and services at this time to particular mention.

15. Resolved, That Mr. Parker's intrepidity and fidelity in the cause of freedom have commanded our warmest admiration and commended him to a place in our sincerest regards; that we deeply regret the illness which has obliged him to leave his home and his friends for a sojourn in a foreign land; that our earnest sympathies are extended to him in his trials and privations; with our sincere hopes for his early recovery and restoration to those active labors for humanity which have hitherto been so signally effective.

16. Resolved, That we commend to the patronage of the friends of our cause the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair, and National Bazaar, as an important department of anti-slavery effort, wherein all may find opportunity for effective labor in behalf of Freedom.

TWENTY-FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR, AND NATIONAL BAZAAR.

THE Committee of Management of this well-known Fair, in making their annual announcement, have, this year, to advertise a new arrangement which they have made for the promotion of that great cause in aid of which their Bazaar has been annually held for nearly a quarter of a century. It is that our next Bazaar is to be National in its character, and not, as heretofore, a Pennsylvania institution alone.

The National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, which has been held, in the City of Boston, during many years, and has been so widely and favorably known on both sides of the Atlantic, having given place to another method of obtaining funds for our cause, it has been judged a wise measure that the Pennsylvania Fair should be now made National in its character. As our whole enterprise, in all its departments, is truly one, and best known, both at home and abroad, by the name of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its affiliations, it is sufficient to announce that one-half of the profits of our Fair will be put into the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the other half, under the direction of its auxiliaries, will be used for the promotion of our cause, in Pennsylvania.

It can scarcely be necessary even to advert to the character of the means by which our enterprise is conducted, so well are they known, both at home and abroad. It is sufficient to say that in the weapons with which we commenced this conflict, and which have, in all ages, proved "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds" of evil, we confidently trust for complete victory. Still less is it needful that, in such an announcement as this, we should enter on an exposition of our well-known principles. We call upon all who love and value those principles to aid us in their dissemination.

To the friends of our cause in Europe, whose generous gifts have for many years been made to the Boston Bazaar, we say, let your contributions of money be devoted to our cause, through the medium of the Boston Anti-Slavery Festival, which has taken the place of that Bazaar; and permit us, if you please, to be the recipients of your other gifts which have been annually sent in various forms of articles of merchandise, to our coadjutors in Massachusetts. These products of your industry and taste and skill, these contributions from the shops and warehouses of your artisans and manufacturers, we can transmute to money, which money we shall receive as a sacred trust from you, to be appropriated, with our utmost fidelity and wisdom, to the abolition of American slavery.

To our friends and coadjutors at home, whose willing hearts and active hands have ever been quick to aid us in this department of our labor, we need to make but one suggestion. We merely remind them that as our Fair is, this year, to have a broader basis, and to extend its operations, it will require of us all somewhat larger gifts than heretofore, of labor, time, or money, according to our ability.

Our Bazaar will be opened in CONCERT HALL, in the City of Philadelphia, on Monday, the 12th, and will continue until Saturday, the 17th day of December, 1859. Contributions of money or of articles of merchandise will be gratefully received, and may be sent, at any time, to the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office, No. 107 North Fifth street, or to any member of the Committee. We trust that our friends, in the city and country, will be prompt in assuring us of their hearty and active coöperation.

The present aspects of our cause are full of encouragement; abounding proofs that our past labors have not been in vain bid us be of good cheer, while the magnitude of the work before us urges us onward to new toils and greater victories.

SARAH PUGH,	EMILY W. TAYLOR,
ANNA M. CHILD,	EVELINA SUPPLEE,
MARIA M. DAVIS,	EMMA PARKER,
REBECCA S. HART,	MARTHA KIMBER,
MARY GREW,	CLEMENTINE G. JOHN,
SARAH PIERCE,	SARAH KENDERDINE,
HULDAH JUSTICE,	ANNA M. HOPPER,
ABBY KIMBER,	ELIZABETH GAY,
RACHEL WILSON,	LYDIA GILLINGHAM,
LUCRETIA MOTT,	JANETTE JACKSON,
SARAH C. HALLOWELL,	MARGARETTA FORTEN,
MARTHA A. GALVIN,	MARGARET A. GRISCOM,
ANNIE SHOEMAKER,	GULIELMA M. JONES,
ELLEN M. CHILD,	SARAH K. GILLINGHAM,
SARAH A. MCKIM,	AGNES CRAIN,
REBECCA PLUMLY,	HARRIET D. PURVIS,
LYDIA WHITE,	MARY T. STICKNEY,
MARGARET J. BURLEIGH,	SUSAN W. SHAW,
ROSANNA THOMPSON,	ELIZABETH CLENDENNON,
HANNAH L. STICKNEY,	MARIA CONKLIN,
MARY SHAW,	SARAH S. CHILD.

THE WEYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR

WILL OPEN AT

Mr. Wales's Hall, Weymouth Landing, on the afternoon of OCTOBER 25th.

[HOURS of starting from the Old Colony dépôt, Boston, half-past 8 and half-past 2. Hours of return, half-past 10 and half-past 4.]

In the list of contributions, for many of which we are indebted to the kindness of friends in Worcester, Boston and elsewhere, especially in New York State, are a lot of gentlemen's buckskin and fur gloves, ladies' sleeves and collars, children's aprons, drawers, capes, toys. A few of the fine Weymouth-made comforts and basket-bed-quilts. A few splendid crotchet toilette and table covers, sofa and chair covers, glass preserve sauces to accompany a tea or dinner-service. Needle-books, mats, stands, watch-cases in variety too great to specify.

☞ But above all the rest is the rare occasion now offered to our friends for the timely selection of New Year's Presents for ornamenting the library, chamber or parlor, or enriching the portfolio, consisting of oil and water-color drawings, framed and ready to hang up, line-engravings, lithographs and mezzotintos, not to be found in the print-shops—the works of distinguished English and French artists. The mere inspection of them will amply repay the slight admission-fee.

There will be a social tea-party on the evening of the 27th, and a social dancing party on the evening of the 28th, both to close at seasonable hours. Refreshments will be constantly provided for distant friends at all hours of the day to suit their convenience; and it is hoped that all who hate slavery (and who in this neighborhood does not?) will take advantage of the pleasant autumn season, and come together from the four Weymouths, from Boston, from Abington, from Plymouth, Hingham, and all the towns between, from Brookline, Canton, and throughout Norfolk County—for invigorating social intercourse and anti-slavery coöperation.

The Ladies-Managers are in correspondence with eloquent and distinguished friends of the Enterprise, far and near, with the prospect of being able confidently to invite their friends to a festival of the mind and heart as well as a series of social meetings for rest and amusement.

Admittance to the Fair,	- - - -	12 cents.
"	" Tea-Party, - - -	25 "
"	" Social Dancing Party,	50 "

Weymouth, Oct. 5, 1859.

☞ Friends from Boston who are completing their collection of flower groups and water-colors are especially notified of this occasion. Distance from Boston, three-quarters of an hour, and the Hall but a few steps from the dépôt on arriving at Weymouth Landing.

LETTER FROM THEODORE PARKER.

A FRIEND in Boston sends us for publication the following extract of a private letter from THEODORE PARKER, dated Montreux, Switzerland, Sept. 13. It will be read with much satisfaction by his numerous friends. However his body may have been affected by disease, his mind would seem to have lost nothing of its vigor.

"Wendell Phillips has written a brave letter to the Chief Justice of Massachusetts and the President of Harvard University. He makes a strong case against the Judge, whose function is to execute the laws, and who decided that a place for the sale of liquor was a nuisance by statute, or liable to the common law of nuisance, and so might be *abated* by anybody who would.

"What a fuss the Bostonians have made about 'Saint Rufus.' How differently they treat HORACE MANN! But I am glad to hear that twenty thousand dollars has been raised for his family. I care less for the monument. I don't like such things much, and, when I die, want only an old-fashioned *blue* slate grave-stone, with my name and appropriate dates, to cost three or four dollars. I should hate to be buried under a great mass of stones. No President of the United States since Madison, perhaps none since Jefferson, ever did such service to the nation as HORACE MANN, either officially or privately. I wonder men don't look and inquire, first, what a man has been, and, second, what he has done, before they make such a fuss over his dead body.

"That statue of Webster in the yard of the State House, what a disgrace it is to the State! If I had been Governor, I would have vetoed the bill for putting it there, although it turned me out of office the next day. But we will give it 'notice to quit' before long. This winter, fifty towns will petition for its removal; and next year 250. A committee will have the matter in charge, and hear the petitioners. Wendell Phillips and others will go up and show cause for ejectment.

"The statue debases the people. Thus the character of Daniel Webster must be discussed anew, and the dead not be allowed to rest. How foolish are his friends, to provoke this discussion about so questionable a reputation! That great

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE BALLAD OF MARGARET GARNER.*

THE housewife, on the midnight hearth, she stirred the smouldering brands,
And kissed her boy that slumbering lay with silent-folded hands,
Nor knew a mother, with her babes, in hunger and in pain,
Far in the woods was shivering in the autumnal rain.

That weary thrall had delved amain on distant fields whose dew
Was of those tears that are outpoured for aye by toily rue—
Where the day she spent in weary toil from morn till evening drear,
And the night was passed in heavy sleep broken by sudden fear.

Now the midnight flash of the equinox, it came with blinding gleams,
And through the wilderness the roar of swoll'n and sullen streams—
Slow treading o'er the wide morass she sought a footing sure,
While the night-heron croaked far o'er the drenched and dreary moor!

And still at morn the wandering thrall to journey on was fain,
While o'er the woodlands steadily there fell the heavy rain,
And save the falling of the rain, the wilderness was dumb—
Or the chirp of the sparrow banqueting on the gold and crimson plum.

The gray hawk, in the air above, was soaring for his prey,
And then, all wildly screaming, wheeled o'er the woods away,
And as she led her little brood on that journey long and drear,
The shadow Doubt it went before—behind there followed Fear!

The wild swan led his followers in lengthening lines and slow,
Winging their way far southward before the coming snow,
But she into the coming snow, and the winter fierce and wild,
Hurried with hasting feet, as to the mother's arms her child.

And still before her foe she fled, like to the wounded deer,
With the hungry vultures following fast upon her flank and rear,
Or like the dove that wildly flies, in her most bitter need,
Before the swift and arrowy flight of the pursuing glede!

She came to a great stream. The wave it murmured low and meek,
And in the Beauteous River she bathed her burning cheek;
Then in the chance-found pirogue her dizzy brain did reel,
Till on the rounded pebbles grated the sudden keel.

But still through all this pain and fear her weary toil was nought;
And even on this new-found shore still weariless she sought
For her worn feet awhile to find some safer resting place,
And by the hearthstone secretly to rest a little space.

But even there the chief of state and the chief of law they lay
In the law's dread, wily ambush, her footsteps to bewray,
And with their human beagles from their covert on her sprang,
And fastened wild upon her with fierce and cruel fang!

She seized the knife for murder, and said, "Thou shalt be free,
My child, and wait a little while and I will come to thee—
Free from their pitiless talons whose prey is still the weak,
That through death's portals only can find the rest they seek.

"They spread their shameful fame far o'er the earth's most distant lands,
But bind their thralls with heavy chains, and scourge with cruel hands;
With the gold they wring from our worn thews, their bark of life they deck—
My only freight was little, and that is utter wreck."

Then, 'mid a craven people, this woman grand they bound,
The canting priest, the placeman mean and the doomsman standing round;
And she who in the olden times scarce finds her queenly mate,
Thus vainly having struggled, she yielded to her fate.

And she of whom, in after-times the world shall proudly speak,
As of the imperial Roman, or of the haughty Greek,
Was led down to the waters by vile and hireling bands,
A great despair within her heart and gyves upon her hands.

Before her foes she quailed not, nor closed her eyes in sleep,
Far on the rushing river, with dark and moaning deep,
Nor when on the stranger-waters 'mid the wreck, at dead of night,
She saw, on the lips of her drowning child, death's ghastly, ghostly white!

And on the quay the bargain, as the day before, was made,
And in the mart the chapman still plied his paltry trade;
And from his gloomy rostrum, the parson's whine still rang,
As he told his threadbare story, with a more ghostly twang.

And there was also strife of them who, for the placeman's place,
And badge of shame, unceasing strove with bold and brazen face.
"But God, who reigns forevermore," she said, "with vengeance sure,
Shall come on them who, night and day, do spoil His weeping poor."

And far, among the stranger, they sought her out again,
And offered her surcease, at last, from thraldom's bitter pain;
She grasped the draught of freedom—but ah! these cruel slips!
Again the pitiless doomsman he dashed it from her lips!

And whither now she drifted she recked not, neither wist,
While the black wherry southward, into the thickening mist,
Fast lessening, floated, laden with her anguish and her fears,
Adown the sullen river that drains the Vale of Tears!

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

Chester County, Pennsylvania, October, 1859.

*The reader who is familiar (and what reader is not?) with the disgraceful history on which this ballad is founded will perceive that I have taken a few liberties with it as to time and place; but, in the main, I have adhered to what is written.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

MADGE VERTNER.

BY MATTIE GRIFFITH.

CHAP. XI.

THE jailer had told Col. Vertner that his daughter was with the slave prisoners; so he was not, as we had expected, startled by her presence. But Madge's keen eye detected the frown on her father's brow, which he so vainly tried to conceal from her. Nodding to him, she said,

"I am before you, papa, in my visit."

"Yes, dear; why didn't you wait for me, or let me know that you were coming?"

Madge did not understand so well as we do the courtly politeness which locked down a falsehood, and, deceived by his manner, she believed that he was not displeased with her for going to the jail. But she gave a curious, inquiring glance toward Hynes and the trader, both of whom took off their hats and bowed to her—an act of politeness to which she made no return.

Milly shrunk farther into the dark corner, but Jack looked full into his master's face.

"And so, my boy," observed Col. Vertner, "you have been running away, and have had bad luck!"

There was no reply. Jack twisted his fingers in and out, and wove them together in every possible contortion of pain, while his face was unmoved.

"Since you are tired of living with me, and seem to have a fancy for travelling, I am going to give you a chance to try your luck in another part of the country." Col. Vertner smiled as he said this, and continued: "Here is your new master, and I hope you will do better and fare better with him than you have with me." As he uttered the last part of the sentence, he pointed to the trader, who, with a sycophantic smile, advanced a step or two nearer the slaves, whom his eyes had been all the while closely examining with the practiced air of one who was accustomed to such merchandise.

"Stand up, boy," said he, in a swaggering tone, as he replaced his stick hat on one side of his head.

Jack stood up.

"Turn round."

Jack obeyed.

"Put out your hands. Eh, pretty good fingers! long and slim! Open your mouth; teeth fair. How old are you?"

Jack looked toward Col. Vertner, as much as to ask, "What must I say?"

His master, with a laugh, said,

"Jack, ain't you smart enough to know your age, or isn't that as easy as running off?"

"I thought, sir, I was about turned forty."

"The advertisement said thirty five," remarked the trader, as he gave Col. Vertner a quizzical glance.

"I think Jack has over-calculated by five years. It appears to me that he is not over thirty-five at the farthest; but be that as it may, he is not past his prime, and a good worker; a good boy, I should say, too, if it had not been for this runaway freak."

Jack's gaze was fixed intently upon his master's face, and, as he listened to the latter part of the sentence, his eyes began to blink and quiver a little, as though he felt tears gathering there—tears that must be kept back.

All this time Madge had remained sitting quietly in the chair, still tapping her boot with the riding whip, but listening attentively to every word that was uttered. When her father spoke of Jack, she leaned a little forward, to catch the expression of the negro's face, and the plume of her cap brushed against her father's arm.

"Well," continued Col. Vertner, "how much will you offer for the boy?"

A terrible agony went over the slave's face; the muscles worked, actually seemed to writhe; the mouth quivered; the eyes closed with a spasm, then opened as suddenly; but no relieving tears gushed out. The moment of physical trial passed, and the victim stood calm and subdued before his torturers. But that look of anguish—that black figure, stony in its fixedness of grief—went to Madge Vertner's soul, and seemed to create her anew. She now no longer pitied the slave; she sympathized with him; his trouble became hers. Her whole heart was open, and, as if by a sublime apocalypse, she saw at once the wrong, the sin in which her father was playing a part. She had risen from her chair, and was about to lay her hand upon her father's arm, when she was arrested by the trader's saying,

"Well, I think he's worth about nine hundred; but afore we comes to terms 'bout the boy, let's see the woman. I'd like to lump 'em—take both at a fair price." Then, turning to Milly: "Git up, gal; stand up here, 'long your husband I s'pose; let's take a look at you."

Milly, by an effort, crept out of the corner, and, holding on to Jack, actually climbed up, and then stood by the side of and still clinging to her husband. The sight of that face, so stricken with terror, was enough to rouse the pity of any human creature; but a slave-catcher and a slave-driver are not human, but a sort of hybrid creation between man and beast.

"Open your mouth, put out your hands and feet," was the trader's order to Milly; when Madge, placing her hand firmly on her father's arm, and fixing her keen eye upon the trader, called out—

"Stop! these negroes are not for sale."

She felt her father's arm tremble (with surprise) beneath her firm grasp, and the trader and Hynes glanced first at her, then at Col. Vertner, with an inquiring look; but Milly, upon whose ear those words had fallen like a new life, sank down at Madge's feet and clasped her round the knees, while tears fell like rain. And Jack's countenance! Ah, Madge never forgot that look!—it went through and through her heart, and thrilled her as she had never been thrilled before. It was a glance of such piercing warmth, such entire gratitude, that it would have thawed the most frozen soul. Col. Vertner felt himself shaken by it, though he only caught the last gleam of it; for he first turned his face to Madge, and it was her wonder-working eye that first drew his attention to the slave. Had he seen that indescribable look, we believe his heart would have melted, for he was a man of kind and good instincts, over whom education, pride and family training exercised a controlling influence. As it was, he commanded him-elf in a moment, and said:

"My daughter, this dirty jail is no place for you. I cannot let you remain a moment longer."

"Papa, you are here."

"I have business, my dear, and *must*—since you will not willingly obey—*order* you to leave instantly."

He had never before spoken to her in such an authoritative tone and manner. She was surprised, almost frightened at it; but, with a spirit of determination akin to his own, she replied,

"I will go, if you will promise me you won't sell Jack and Milly."

"Madge!"—and his voice was very stern—"I cannot have you interfering in my business affairs. You must not forget your proper place. Now, go at once, my dear"; and his voice softened a little.

"Papa, these negroes belong to me, or will, for I am your only heir. Now, it is not right for you to sell my property; besides, it is a pet plan of my own to retain these two servants. Now, papa, dear, oblige me in this."

It had been a sterner parent than Col. Vertner who could have denied the soft persuasion of those upturned eyes, and the beseeching beauty of those ripe, red lips.

"Well, daughter; if I don't sell them, I must punish them, at least, for running off, by hiring them out for a year."

Madge remembered that Milly had proposed this herself, and, thinking anything better than having them sold, she replied,

"Ah, well, you may do that; and now, papa, I'll obey you. Good-bye, Jack and Milly; in a year you shall return; and I am sure you will be better servants after this." Then, shaking hands with each of them, she left the jail, remounted her poney, and galloped off in the homeward direction.

After she had gone, Col. Vertner, Tom Hynes and the trader, all three, experienced a sense of infinite relief; each one, no doubt, thinking "Now we can come to business." But the poor trusting negroes believed, with the innocent Madge, that Col. Vertner's word was pledged, and that they were not to be sold. Meanwhile, the three—Col. Vertner, the trader and Hynes—held a little private conference, in which there seemed to be a good deal of discussion.

"Well, Colonel, call it an even eighteen hundred."

After a little hesitation, Col. Vertner agreed to this, and, taking out of his pocketbook two half-dollar pieces, he gave them to Hynes, saying, "Give them this when I leave; I don't want to see them when they learn that the bargain is closed."

Lordly owner of broad acres and troops of slaves, he yet trembled before one of his humblest. He meanly shrunk away, not daring to meet the trusting glance of the poor creatures whom he had deceived.

"Well, Colonel, jist step with me to my office an' we'll close the bargains, draw up the papers, and I'll fork over the cash; an', Hynes, you jist 'tend to them 'ar niggers, an' see to fetchin' 'em right away to the pen."

Accompanied by Col. Vertner, the trader left the jail. On the steps they encountered the jailer.

"Well, Colonel, has you an' Mister Harrison come to terms yit?"

"Oh, yes; and now I will settle with you for the jail fees."

"Oh, any time 'll suit me, Colonel; I'm in no hurry; your time is my time; jist suit yourself."

But Col. Vertner, who was used to this accommodating style of conversation from the villagers, was shrewd enough to interpret it as meaning, "I can wait, but I'd prefer the money *now*"; so he at once settled his account with the jailer, and then set off with the trader to receive the blood-stained gold.

Tom Hynes, when left quite alone with the slaves, assumed his most important and swaggering air. Approaching Jack, he said, as he punched him with his hickory cane,

"You didn't spect to see me so soon agin, I reckon, ole hoss, did yer?"

As Jack vouchsafed no answer, he went on:

"Now, you's goin' with me to a different sort of home; yer to go to Mister Harrison's pen, an' next week, I reckon, if Providence don't spile the fun, you'll be floatin' down de river on de Ohio; and if you behaves yourself, you'll git a pretty good home on some of 'em cotton or rice plantations."

Milly glanced from Hynes to Jack, and from Jack to Hynes, in the most rapid manner. She could not understand what she heard. Did her ears deceive her? Hadn't Miss Madge got master to pardon them and promise that they should not be sold? And yet Tom Hynes said they were to go down the river next week. What did it all mean? Jack was turned, as if by a magician's stroke, to stone. Madge's gentle voice and his master's promise had brought back the warm glow to his over-tried frame; but now he was chilled and frozen again. Poor Milly's eyes wandered over his face, hoping to read something like comfort there, but the rigid, ice-locked features terrified her.

"Oh, Massa Hynes, what does you say?" she broke out; "we ain't sold, is we? What was it master promised to Miss Madge? Didn't he say we was only to be hired out, an' not sole?"

"Well, you is a cussed black fool, if yer didn't know that the Colonel was only a-talkin' so as to git his darter out of the way."

At this announcement, Milly sank down upon her knees, clasped her hands together, and cried out, "Good Lord! have mercy on us."

"Here is a half-dollar a-piece that your master left for you, with good-bye; here, take it, an' then git up, an' come 'long with me, fur I ain't got no time to stand here listening to you fussin' 'bout what you know you desarves; so make haste an' come on; I won't be hard with you, unless you hinders me too long, an' then, if you does, I shouldn't mind smashing this stick across your pates in the snap of a finger; here, take your money." He threw a half-dollar on the floor at Milly's side. She picked it up, with a "thanky, sir," which came mechanically from her lips; but when he offered the coin to Jack, the negro refused, saying, between his shut teeth,

"I doesn't want it, sir; he wanted to save his darter's feelin's, an, so he tole a lie, but didn't kere fur our feelin's."

"Look here, boy, what's you a-talkin' 'bout here? I'll try my stick over your head, if you don't mind yer words," said Hynes.

"Poor Miss Madge," wailed out Milly; "poor little angel, she didn't know nothin' 'bout this; an' if she had uv had her way, 'twouldn't a bin so."

This thought appeared to comfort her—the thought of sympathy—and she said, with more firmness than usual,

"Come on, Jack, we'll do the best we kin, an' may be we'll be sole to the same place. I hope so, indeed." And, wiping her eyes with the old rag of an apron which she wore, she rose and laid her hand tenderly upon her husband's shoulder, adding, "Come on, ole man; let's go an' trust in de Lord dat we'll be kept together. Come 'long, Jack; don't stand here so stiff an' cold like. Come, Master Hynes is in a hurry, he wants us to set off wid him."

"Yes, come 'long," put in Hynes; "I ain't got another minnit to wait 'long with you."

Milly took Jack's hand and led him out of the dirty, dark room, and down the dusty stairs, out into the open entry, where they met the jailer and his wife.

"Well, nigs, you is goin', is you?" asked the jailer, in a most unfeeling tone.

"Yes, massa, an' we thank you for what you has done for us while we has bin here."

"Wal, you ar' welcome for what little you got from me," replied the man, somewhat touched by the woman's humility.

Jack was stony and unmoved, and suffered himself to be led along by Milly and watched by Hynes. Thus they passed out of the jail yard, down a quiet street and across a green common, until they reached a small, low, brick building, enclosed by a high plank fence; and soon they were securely locked in the "slave-pen," with about a dozen other marketable men and women, with black and yellow complexions.

BLONDEL.

AT the castle's outer door
Stood Blondel, the Troubadour.
Up the marble stairs the crowd,
Pressing, talked and laughed aloud.
Upward with the throng he went;
With a heart of discontent,
Tuned his sullen instrument;
Tried to sing of mirth and jest,
As the knights around him pressed;
But across his heart a pang
Struck him wordless ere he sang.

Then the guests and vassals roared,
Sitting round the oaken board,
"If thou canst not wake our mirth,
Touch some softer rhyme of earth:
Sing of knights in ladies' bowers—
Twine a lay of love and flowers."

"Can I sing of love?" he said—
And a moment bowed his head.
Then looked upward, out of space,
With a strange light in his face.

Said Blondel, the Troubadour,
"When I hear the battle roar,
And the trumpet-tones of war,
Can I tinkle my guitar?"

"But the war is o'er," said all;
"Silent now the bugle's call.
Love should be the warrior's dream—
Love alone the minstrel's theme.
Sing us *Rose leaves on a stream*."

Said Blondel, "Not roses now—
Leafless thorns befit the brow.
In this crowd my voice is weak,
But ye force me now to speak.
Know ye not King Richard groans,
Chained 'neath Austria's dungeon-stones?
What care I to sing of aught
Save what presses on my thought?
Over laughter, song, and shout,
From these windows swelling out,
Over passion's tender words,
Intonating through the chords,
Rings the prisoned monarch's lay,
Through and through me, night and day;
And the only strain I know
Haunts my brain where'er I go—
Trumpet tones that rise and ring
Till I see my Richard king!

"Gallants, hear my song of love,
Deeper tones than courtiers move—
Hear my royal captive's sigh—
England, Home, and Liberty!"

Then he struck his lute and sang,
Till the shields and lances rang:
How for Christ and Holy Land
Fought the Lion Heart and Hand—
How the craft of Leopold
Trapped him in a castle old—
How one balmy morn in May,
Singing to beguile the day,
In his tower, the minstrel heard
Every note and every word—
How he answered back the song,
"Let thy hope, my King, be strong!
We will bring thee help ere long."

Still he sang—"Who goes with me?
Who is it wills King Richard free?
He who bravely toils and dares,
Pain and danger with me shares—
He whose heart is true and warm,
Though the night perplex with storm,
Forest, plain, and dark morass,
Hanging-rock and mountain pass,
And the thunder bursts ablaze—
Is the lover that I praise."

As the minstrel left the hall,
Silent, sorrowing, sat they all.
Well they knew his banner-sign,
The Lion-Heart of Palestine.
Like a flame the song had swept
O'er them; then the warriors leapt
Up from the feast with one accord—
Pledged around their knightly word—
From the castle windows rang
The last verse the minstrel sang,
And from out the castle-door
Followed they the Troubadour.

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

KOSSUTH AND LOUIS NAPOLEON.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

LONDON, Sept. 5, 1859.

You will recollect that about a year ago I made, through the columns of *The Tribune*, some curious revelations in regard to a certain Banya, his mission to Circassia and the squabbles hence arising between the Hungarian and Polish emigrations at Constantinople. Although the facts then stated by me afterwards found their way into the European press, no attempt to dispute their accuracy has ever been ventured upon. I have now to call the attention of your readers to another secret chapter of cotemporaneous history; I mean the connection between Kossuth and Bonaparte. It cannot longer be tolerated that the same men should receive with the one hand the pay of the assassin of the French Republic, and in the other hand hoist the banner of liberty; that they should play the part of both martyrs and courtiers; that, having become the tools of an atrocious usurper, they should still exhibit themselves as the organs of an oppressed nation. I think the moment the more opportune for revealing facts long known to me, as Bonaparte and his sycophants, Kossuth and his partisans, are equally busy in throwing a veil over transactions which could not fail to compromise the one before the monarchs and the other before the peoples of the world.

It will be admitted by the most prejudiced admirers of Mr. Kossuth that, whatever his other accomplishments may be, he has always sadly lacked one great quality—that of consistency. During the whole course of his life he has more resembled the *improvisatore* receiving his impressions from his audience than the author imprinting his own original ideas upon the world. This inconsistency of thought could not but reflect itself in duplicity of action. A few facts may illustrate the truth of this assertion. At Kutaya, Mr. Kossuth entered into an intimate *liaison* with Mr. David Urquhart, and, accepting at once the prejudices of that romantic Highlander, he did not besitate to pass sentence on Mazzini as a Russian agent. He formally pledged himself to keep aloof from Mazzini. But he had hardly arrived at London when he formed a triumvirate with Mazzini and Ledru Rollin. The incontestible proofs of this double-dealing have been laid before the British public in the correspondence carried on between L. Kossuth and David Urquhart, which the latter gentleman has printed in the London *Free Press*. In the first speech Mr. Kossuth made on landing on the English coast, he called Palmerston the friend of his bosom. Palmerston, through the instrumentality of a well-known member of Parliament, intimated to Kossuth his desire to receive the latter at his mansion. Kossuth demanded to be received by the British Minister as Governor of Hungary, a request which, of course, was at once scornfully rejected. Mr. Kossuth, on his part, now gave, through Mr. Urquhart and other acquaintances of his, the British public to understand that he had rejected Palmerston's invitation because he had made sure, from a close study at Kutaya of the Blue Book relating to Hungarian affairs, that Palmerston, the "friend of his bosom," had, in secret understanding with the Court of St. Petersburg, played the traitor to "dear Hungary." In 1853, when a Mazzinian *émeute* broke out at Milan, there appeared on the walls of that town a proclamation addressed to the Hungarian soldiers, calling upon them to side with the Italian insurrectionists, and bearing the signature of Louis Kossuth. The *émeute* turning out a failure, Mr. Kossuth, through the medium of the London newspapers, hastened to declare the proclamation a forgery, thus giving a public *démenti* to his friend Mazzini. Nevertheless, the proclamation *was* genuine. Mazzini *had* acted in concert with Kossuth.

Proceeding upon the settled conviction that to subvert Austrian tyranny the united action of Hungary and Italy was indispensable, Mazzini for some time tried to replace Kossuth by a more trustworthy Hungarian leader, but, his efforts splitting on the dissensions of the Hungarian emigration, he magnanimously pardoned his uncertain ally, and spared him an exposure that would have ruined Kossuth's position in England.

To draw nearer to present times, I may call to your recollection that, in the autumn of 1858, Mr. Kossuth made a tour through Scotland, delivering lectures in different towns, and solemnly warning the British against Louis Bonaparte's treacherous designs. Take, for instance, the following extract of a lecture delivered at Glasgow, on Nov. 20, 1858:

"I have," said Mr. Kossuth, "already alluded, in my other lecture, to the brota of national hatred which Louis Bonaparte is brewing. I do not mean to insinuate that he is meditating an invasion of this country: no doubt he would; only, like the fox in the fable, he does not like sour grapes. It is not long ago that, with the exception, perhaps, of the gentlemen of St. Petersburg, who very likely know all about the mystery, Louis Bonaparte put the whole diplomacy of the world to their wits' end by his gigantic preparations at Cherbourg, pushed on to the last shilling of his empty treasury, and with a haste as if his existence was depending on a minute gained. . . . . Cherbourg remains as a structure solely against England. . . . . He meditates a new conflict in the East, in company with Russia. In this conflict he means to check the free movement of the English navy by binding a goodly portion of it to your shores, while he proposes to strike a deadly blow at your vital interests in the East. . . . . The Crimean war—was it concluded according to the interest of Great Britain and Turkey? Wallachia and Moldavia got a constitution devised in the den of secret diplomacy, that curse of our age; a constitution devised by Bonaparte with the concurrence of Russia and Austria—each and all of them ardent friends of popular freedom, forsooth! It is in reality no more nor no less than a charter granted to Russia for the purpose of disposing of the Principalities. . . . . Nay, more; has not Bonaparte, the dear ally, sent his officers to Montenegro to teach rifle practice to the wild mountaineers? . . . . His mind is bent on a new treaty of Tilsit, if he has it not already in his pocket."

Such were Kossuth's public strictures on Bonaparte, his dear ally, in the autumn of 1858. Still more; in the beginning of 1859, when Bonaparte's plans for his Italian crusade of liberty had begun to take shape and figure, this same Kossuth, in Mazzini's *Pensiero ed Azione*, denounced the Dutch trickster in glowing language, and warned all true Republicans—Italians, Hungarians and Germans even—from making themselves the cat's paws of the Imperial Quasimodo. In a word, he reechoed Mazzini's views, which the latter again proclaimed in his manifesto of the 16th of May, which he clung to during the Bonaparte crusade, and repeated victoriously at the end of the war, in another manifesto reprinted by *The Tribune*.

Kossuth then, in January, 1859, not only saw through the Bonapartist sham, but did all in his power to lay it bare before the world. He goaded "the liberal press" into that direction afterward wondered at by Bonaparte's tools as "a sudden outbreak" of "anti-Napoleonic rage," and stigmatized by them as a symptom of morbid "sympathy for Austria." But, in the interval, between January, 1859, and May, 1859, a strange revolution occurred in the feelings and ideas of the grand *improvisatore*. He who, to warn the British against Bonaparte's atrocious designs, had made a lecturing tour through Scotland in the autumn of 1858, set out in the month of May, 1859, on another lecturing tour, from the London Mansion House to the Free Trade Hall at Manchester, to preach confidence in the Man of December, and, under the false pretence of standing up for neutrality, inveigle the British over to the side of the Imperial blackleg. His own neutrality he soon after evinced in a manner not to be misunderstood.

Now, these recollections, which I might multiply at pleasure, ought to raise some misgivings in the minds of Kossuth's honest admirers—such men as are neither blind worshippers of a name nor bound to the democratic grandee by sordid interest. At all events, they will not deny that the facts I am now about to relate appear by no means incompatible with the past of the presumed hero of liberty. There were three Hungarian leaders at Paris, paying court to the illustrious Plon-Plon, alias the *Prince Rouge*, the scion of the Bonapartist family, upon whom has fallen the lot of coquetting with revolution, in the same way that his bigger cousin dallies with "religion, order and property." Those three men were Col. Kiss, Count Teleky and Gen. Klapka. Plon-Plon, be it said, *en passant*, is a Heliogabalus as to morals, an Ivan III. for personal cowardice, a real Bonaparte for falsehood; but, with all that, an *homme d'esprit*, as the French say. These three gentlemen prevailed upon Plon-Plon, who, probably, was not at all taken by surprise, to enter into negotiations with Kossuth, to summon him to Paris, and even to hold out the promise of presenting the ex-Governor of Hungary to the insidious ruler of the Tuileries.

Accordingly, Mr. Kossuth, having been provided with an English passport, wherein he was designated as Mr. Brown, left London for Paris in the beginning of May. At Paris he had at first a long interview with Plon-Plon, to whom he exposed his views about insurging Hungary by landing 40,000 Frenchmen, to be backed by a corps of Magyar refugees, on the coast of Fiume, and a point that seemed uppermost in his patriotic mind, of forming, if only for appearance sake, a provisional government, with Mr. Kossuth at its head. In the evening of May 3, Plon-Plon, in his own carriage, conducted Mr. Kossuth to the Tuileries, there to introduce him to the Man of December. During this interview with Louis Bonaparte, Mr. Kossuth for once refrained from using his great rhetorical powers, and allowed Plon-Plon to act as spokesman. He afterwards paid a gracious compliment to the almost literal fidelity with which the Prince had reproduced his views.

Having attentively listened to the exposition of his cousin, Louis Bonaparte declared that there was one great obstruction to the acceptance on his part of Mr. Kossuth's projects, viz., the latter's republican principles and republican connections. It was then that Mr. Kossuth most solemnly *abjured the republican faith*, declaring that he neither was nor ever had been a republican, and that political necessities only, and a strange combination of circumstances, had compelled him to side for a while with the republican part of the European emigration. Subsequently, in proof of his anti-republicanism, he, in the name of his country, offered the Hungarian crown to Prince Plon-Plon. It is true that the crown he thus disposed of had not yet become vacant, while his power of attorney to barter it away was altogether wanting; but who ever has carefully watched Mr. Kossuth's proceedings in foreign countries must have become aware that he has long been used to speak of "dear Hungary" somewhat in the way in which a country gentleman speaks of his estates.

As to Mr. Kossuth's repudiation of republicanism, I consider it to have been sincere. A civil list of 300,000 florins, which he claimed at Pesth for keeping up the splendor of the Executive; the partronage of the hospitals, transferred from an Austrian Archduchess to his own sister; the attempt to give his name to some regiments; the desire to surround himself with a camarilla; the tenacity with which, when on foreign soil, he clung to the title of Governor, although resigned by him at the epoch of the Hungarian catastrophe; the airs assumed by him of a pretender, rather than an exile—all this points to tendencies the reverse of republicanism. However this may be, I positively affirm that Louis Kossuth abjured republicanism before the French usurper, and in the presence of the Man of December offered the Hungarian crown to Plon-Plon, the Bonapartist Sardanapalus. Some rather loose gossip about this incident of his interview with Bonaparte at the Tuileries may have given rise to the notoriously false rumor that Kossuth had betrayed the secret plans of his Republican ex-confederates. He was not called upon to reveal their supposed secrets, nor would he have listened to such an infamous proposal. Having succeeded in completely destroying Louis Napoleon's apprehensions as to his republican tendencies, and having pledged himself to act in the dynastic interest of the Bonapartes, a bargain was struck, by which three millions of francs were placed at Mr. Kossuth's disposal. There would appear nothing strange in this stipulation, since, to organize militarily the Hungarian emigration, money was wanted, and why should Mr. Kossuth not receive subsidies from his new ally, the same as all the despotic powers of Europe had received subsidies from England during the whole course of the anti-Jacobin war? However, I cannot suppress the fact that, of the millions thus put at his disposal, Mr. Kossuth at once appropriated for his own personal expenses the rather handsome figure of 75,000 francs, stipulating, besides, in case the Italian war should end without leading to the invasion of Hungary, for one year's pension for himself. Before he left the Tuileries, it was agreed that Mr. Kossuth was to counteract the suspected Austrian tendencies of the Derby Ministry, by opening a neutrality campaign in England. It is generally known how, on his return to perfidious Albion, the spontaneous support of the Whigs and the Manchester school enabled him to successfully perform this preliminary part of his engagement.

Since 1851, the greater part of the Hungarian exiles of any distinction and political standing had separated from Mr. Kossuth, but what with the vista of an invasion of Hungary by the aid of French troops—what with the logical horse-power of three millions of francs—the world, as the real Napoleon in one of his fits of cynicism said, being governed by "*le petit ventre*," save some honorable exceptions, the whole of the Hungarian emigration in Europe flocked to the Bonapartist banners headed by Louis Kossuth. That the transactions which he entered upon with them had some Decembrist smack of corruption cannot be denied, since, to bestow a greater lot of French money upon his new-fangled partisans, he promoted them to higher military grades: lieutenants, for instance, being advanced to the rank of majors. In the first instance, every one received his travelling expenses to Piedmont, then a rich uniform (the cost of a major's costume amounted to £150), and six months' pay in advance, with the promise of pay for one year's service on the conclusion of peace. The so-called Commander-in-Chief received a salary of 10 000fr., the Generals 6,000fr. each, the Brigadiers, 5,000fr., the Lieutenant-Colonels 4,000 r., the Majors 3 000fr., and so forth.

The names of the more prominent individuals who associated themselves with Kossuth and pocketed Bonapartist money are the following: Generals Klapka, Percel, Vetter, Czecz; the Colonels Szabo, Emeric and Esienne; Kiss, Count A. Teleky, Count Bethlen, Medyanszky, Ihasz, and some lieutenant-colonels and majors. Among the civilians I may mention Count L. Teleky, Puky, Pulszky, Iranyi, Ludwig, Simonyi, Henszelman, Veres, and others—in fact, all the Hungarian refugees residing in England and on the Continent, with the single exception of S. Vukovicz (at London or Axminster), Ronay (at London, a Hungarian savant), and B. Szemere (at Paris, formerly President of the Hungarian Ministry).

Now, it would be unjust to think that all these men acted from corrupt motives. The majority probably consist of simple dupes—patriotic soldiers who cannot be supposed to possess distinct political principles, or the acumen to look through diplomatic webs. Some, like Gen. Perczel, withdrew as soon as events had shed light upon the Bonapartist imposture. Louis Kossuth, however, who as late as January, 1859, by his articles in Mazzini's *Pensiero ed Azione*, had shown himself a competent judge of Bonaparte's schemes, can by no means be exculpated in the same way.

MISS HOSMER'S ZENOBIA.

From The Home Journal.

YOUR entertaining journal seldom fails in cordial recognition of whatever indicates progressive tendencies in the education and character of women. Therefore, you cannot be otherwise than deeply interested in Harriet Hosmer, spiritually the twin sister of Rosa Bonheur, of whom one of your correspondents lately gave such a graphic and lively sketch.

When I parted from Miss Hosmer, on her return to Rome, in 1857, her mind was completely occupied with planning a statue of Zenobia in chains, as she appeared in the triumphal procession of Aurelian. The personal beauty and proud bearing of that great Queen of the East rendered her an admirable subject for sculpture; and the costume of the place and period was also extremely favorable to artistic purposes. But the earnest young sculptor foresaw many obstacles in the way of success. The action of walking would obviously be very difficult to render gracefully and naturally in marble; and it required genius to conceive and embody the expression suitable to the Majesty of Palmyra under such painful circumstances. I said to myself, "If my enterprising and energetic young friend accomplishes this task well, she will assuredly deserve a place in the world's history."

She has accomplished it well. I am sure that would be your prompt verdict, if you could see a photograph of the completed statue, which I received from Rome last week.

She has worked at this great statue with such intensity of purpose, and such untiring labor, that physicians sent her into Switzerland to save her life. The production is worth all the concentrated thought she has bestowed upon it. It far surpasses anything she has hitherto done. Many women, if they had accomplished half as much, would think they had a right to put up at the Hotel de l'Univers, and do nothing during the remainder of their natural lives, but repose on their laurels, and be lionized by visitors. But Miss Hosmer is not one of that stamp. Her soul is so absorbed by an intense love of art, that she will never be satisfied with any stopping-place on the ladder of excellence.

The statue of Zenobia is larger than life size. The head is covered with a helmet, fashioned like a tiara in front, suggested by a medal of the Palmyrean Queen in the British Museum. Under this, in keeping with the royal costumes of the East, is a gemmed fillet, the ends of which fall among her curls, and meet in a pleasing line, the ornamented cinte crossed upon the breast. The left hand clutches the chain fastened to her wrist by manacles in the shape of bracelets. On the right arm, which falls naturally and easily by her side, is visible a thin sleeve looped up in the Amazonian fashion. Over this first dress is a shorter robe of thicker material. The ample folds of a rich mantle, fastened on the shoulders with gems, breaks up the monotonous outline of the more closely-fitting garments. The whole costume is a charming combination of Grecian grace with oriental magnificence. In the position of the feet and limbs, the artist seems to me to have accomplished the exceedingly difficult task of making a just poise between action and repose. It indicates precisely the slow, measured tread natural to a stately person walking in a procession. The expression of the beautiful face is admirably conceived. It is sad, but calm, and very proud; the expression of a great soul, whose regal majesty no misfortune could dethrone. Miss Hosmer, in a letter accompanying the photograph, writes: "I have tried to make her too proud to exhibit passion or emotion of any kind; not subdued, though a prisoner; but calm, grand, and strong within herself." I think the public will agree that she has successfully embodied this high ideal of her superb subject.

Are you not glad a woman has done this? I know you are; or I would not have written to you of my own delight in this great performance of our gifted countrywoman.

This grand specimen of modern sculpture is now at Rome, in the Academia dei Quiriti. It will be exhibited a short time in London, and then brought to this country.

L. MARIA CHILD.

DICKENS AND THACKERAY.

From Prof. Masson's Lectures on British Novelists.

As to the difference of ethical spirit, or of general philosophy, between the two writers, the public have come to a very definite conclusion. Dickens, it is said, is the more genial, kindly, cheerful and sentimental; Thackeray, the more harsh, caustic, cynical and satirical writer. And, proceeding on this distinction, the two factions argue, consistently with it, in behalf of their respective favorites—the adherents of Dickens objecting to what they call Thackeray's merciless views of human life, and his perception of the mean at the roots of everything; and the adherents of Thackeray, on the other hand, maintaining the wholesome effect of his bracing sense in comparison with what they call Dickens's sickly sentimentalism. For us, joining neither of the factions, it is enough to recognize the fact of the difference on which they argue so constantly. The philosophy of Dickens certainly *is* the professed philosophy of kindliness, of a genial interest in all things great and small, of light English joyousness, and a sunny universal benevolence; whereas, though I do not agree with those that represent Thackeray's writings as mainly cynical, but think that, in such characters as his Warrington he has shown his belief in manly nobleness, and his power of representing, yet it seems clear that the pervading philosophy of his writings, far more than those of Dickens, is that of a profoundly reasoned pococurantism, of a skeptical acquiescence in the world as it is; or, to use his own words in describing the state of mind of his hero Pendennis, "of a belief qualified with scorn, in all things extant." The difference is perhaps best seen, and with most advantage to Thackeray, when it is expressed negatively—that is with reference not to what the two writers respectively inculcate, but to what they respectively attack and oppose. Stated so (but such a method of statement, it should be remembered, is not the fairest for all purposes), the philosophy of Dickens may be defined as anti-Puritanism, whereas that of Thackeray may be defined as anti-Snobbism. Whatever practice, institution or mode of thinking is adverse, in Mr. Dickens's view, to natural enjoyment and festivity, against that he makes war; whereas that which Mr. Thackeray hunts out and hunts down everywhere is Snobbism. Although, in their positive forms, both philosophies are good, perhaps in their negative applications Mr. Thackeray's is the least liable to exception. Anti-snobbism, it may indeed be admitted, is not a perfect summary of the whole decalogue; but, in the present day, and especially in and about London, it is that which most nearly passes for such a summary; and, seeing that there is no question anywhere but that Snobbism is a bad thing, and little difficulty anywhere in knowing what it is, Mr. Thackeray's doctrine is one to which there needs be less hesitation in wishing universal good speed than to the corresponding doctrine of his rival—a doctrine which would too hastily extinguish that, about the nature of which, and its proper varieties, there may well be much controversy. Farther, it is to Mr. Thackeray's advantage, in the opinion of many, that in his satires in behalf of anti-Snobbism, or of any other doctrine that he may hold, it is men and their modes of thinking and acting that he attacks, and not social institutions. To do battle with the vanity, the affectation, the insincerity, the Snobbism, that lies under each man's own hat, and actuates each man's own gestures and conduct, is Mr. Thackeray's way; and rarely or never does he concern himself with social anomalies or abuses. In this respect he is singularly ac